A

DEFENCE

OF THE

SCOTS

ABDICATING

DARIEN:

Including An

ANSWER

TO THE

DEFENCE

OF THE

Scots SETTLEMENT there.

Authore BRITANNO *ſed Dunenſi.*

Vitaret cælum Phaëton ſi viveret & quos,
Optaret ſtultæ Tangere nollet equos.
Obid. de Triſt.

Printed in the Year, 1700.

RPJCB

To the Right Worſhipful,

THE

COURT of DIRECTORS

OF THE

Scots *African* and *Indian* Company;

The DEFENCE of the

Scots Abdicating of *DARIEN*,

IS

Humbly DEDICATED.

Right Worſhipful GENTLEMEN,

THE *immenſe Privileges and Immunities, wherewith your preſent Sovereign, and indulgent Father,* WILLIAM *the Second, hath inveſted your Company, by that* Octroy *of the Year,* 1695, *argues his good Inclinations towards you ſo far, that whilſt he was in the warmeſt Trenches of* Namure, *(and not ſure but that Act might be his laſt Legacy) authoriz'd you and your Succeſſors to Plant, and maintain Colonies in whatever Part*

or Parts of Aſia, Affrica, *and* America *you pleas'd, provided theſe Places or Territories were not the Propriety of ſuch* European *Princes or States, as were in Alliance or Amity with His Majeſty; and freed you for the Space of Twenty One Years, from all Duties on the Product of ſuch Plantations,* &c. *You were not only impower'd to defend your Colonies and Trade by Force of Arms, but likewiſe had His Majeſty's Promiſe to interpoſe the Regal Authority, to do you Right, in caſe you were diſturb'd in ſuch Legal Poſſeſſion, or Trade, and that at the publick Charge (to be preſum'd) of his Ancient Kingdom.*

His Majeſty having thus granted you ſo large and glorious a Patent, not to be paralell'd by that of any Company or Society in the Univerſe; much leſs by any of his Royal Anceſtors, your Native or Unforeign Kings; both the preſent and after Ages will expect that the ſame ſhould be tranſmitted by you, the preſent Directors, to your Succeſſors, without any Stain or Blemiſh that may incur the Hazard of a Forfeiture: And that by your Management, your Children may reap the Benefits of it, with the ſame, if not with more Advantages.

This emboldens the Author (who was the firſt Perſon employ'd in your Service for your Foreign Expedition, and the firſt who left it) to lay the following Sheets at your Feet. And he takes upon him to put you in Mind, that if you had not miſapply'd the Money intruſted to your Management (the Want whereof is ſo much felt at Home by the great Number of needy Perſons, who expected their Dividends before now.) And if you had liſten'd to the wholeſome Advice of Mr. Douglaſs, *an eminent and experienc'd Man in* India, *who offer'd himſelf for your Pilot, and his Subſtance for your Security, which was more than the Three beſt Shares in your Capital Stock; and had not been bewitch'd to the Golden Dreams of* Paterſon *the Pedlar, Tub-preacher, and at laſt Whimſical Projector; you might e'er now have been poſſeſt of a good Colony in* India, *where no Body could diſturb you: And not have run on an Airy Project, which (altho' you ſhould have met with no Oppoſition from the* Spaniard) *four times your Capital Stock could not have brought to any reaſonable Pitch of Anſwering the End. And had you been Maſters of ſo much Management and Temper, as to have ſav'd that Fifty Thouſand Pounds, which you ſquander'd away on thoſe Six Hulks you built at* Amſterdam *and* Hamburgh, *purely to make a Noiſe there of your Proceedings, whereby*

by you thought to decoy the innocent Dutch *Men, or at leaſt their Gelt, into your Net; and had therewith bought a Couple of Second-hand Ships in the River of* Thames, *and diſpatch'd them to* India *with a ſuitable Cargoe, (not of* Scotch *Cloth, Slippers, Periwigs and Bibles) you might have had ſuch Returns e'er now, as would have buoy'd you up ſo far above Water, as you needed not proclaim to the ſmiling World ſo many publick Ropings of the Shares of your Capital Stock.*

—— Sed quos Deus or Jupiter perdere
vult eos dementat.

If you were thus perſwaded to run headlong on a blind Project, at which the Trading Part of the World ſtand amaz'd; the India *Companies of* England *and* Holland *laugh at in their Sleeve, and the reſt of Mankind admire, that People in their right Senſes ſhould be guilty of: And if the ſame ſhould miſcarry by your own ill Management (to ſay no worſe on't) 'tis not fair you ſhould ſnarle at your Neighbours, who have no other hand in your Misfortune, than that they would not be acceſſary to any Act, which the World might judge Felonious; and wherein they could not join without ingaging themſelves in an unreaſonable War,*

and

and in the End to aſſiſt you with Weapons, to break their own Heads.

WILLIAM *the Second, who, as you ſay, in an untainted Line, is the* 112*th King that hath wore your Regal Diadem, has wrought and fought ſufficiently for the Gift, your Nation prudently thought their Intereſt to make him. Or admit it ſhould be true, that there was no private Intereſt conſulted by thoſe generous* Donators, *yet it is obvious to the World, that by being Subjects of the King of* Great Britain, *you are not only ſhaded from the Inſults of all Nations, but by the Authority of your* Britiſh *Sovereign, you are freed from the daily Feuds, and bloody little Wars, which, before the Union, for a Tract of Time, not leſs than* 1900 *Years, were continually raging amongſt your ſelves; which unnatural Maſſacres your Native Princes were ſo unable to ſuppreſs, that when the contending Clans or Parties were glutted with one anothers Blood, and deſir'd the Benefit of the Princely Mediation; thoſe were pleas'd to accept of the Office of Umpires, in Patching up the Feuds, till ſuch time as the young Fry came of Age, to fight it out. Theſe Barbarities have been quite turn'd out of Doors ſince the Union, and they are now, either almoſt or altogether forgot; neither are they to be reviv'd, unleſs it be by this*

this so-much-wish'd-for Separation of Three or Four Months Date. Your People now enjoy the Blessings of Heaven, and Product of the Earth, and Ocean without any interruption; and whereas formerly they liv'd on the Mountains, and under the Shelter of some strong Rocks or Castles, they are now come down to the Plains, and can sleep sound in Beds, without the least Apprehension of Blood and Rapine. And to Crown your Felicity, you have now a free Enjoyment of the Gospel, in the Fulness and Purity thereof, which has ever been reckon'd the chief Care and Blessing of all Political Bodies. You are at Liberty to say your Prayers, either in Form, or out of Form, which you please, without any Dreads of Sophistical Impositions by Romish or Malignant Priests. And now you praise your Maker in stately Churches, whereas, formerly these gallant Men, your Ancestors, were oblig'd to offer on such Altars as Jacob *made, and to whisper their Prayers or Carrols through the Cliffs of the Mountains, or the Chimney of some House, whose Wall was some Twelve or Fourteen Foot thick. All these Blessings you owe to Heaven, and the British Monarchy, whatever some vitiated and deprav'd Palates perswade you to the Contrary.*

The

The mask'd Champion *of your Company, whoſe Tongue is much too big for his Mouth, is in Pain becauſe he cannot ſpurt out all his Venom at one Blaſt. However reaſonable it be, that the Gentleman's Zeal ſhould atone for his want of Power, yet I muſt acquaint you, that his Quarrel with the* Engliſh *Nation is as unjuſt and groundleſs, as your Settling a Colony in another Man's Dominions; unleſs by Virtue of your Presbyterian Tenent,* viz. *of* Dominions being founded in Grace, *you who are the Preſumptive Elect pretend a Divine Right to the Goods of the Wicked, and ſo take upon you to cloath the Seven Councellors of your Colony with ſuch another Commiſſion, as God gave the* Hebrews *when they departed out of* Egypt.

I have no Inclination to offer any Thing in Oppoſition to the Gallantry of your Anceſtors, who took ſo much Care to keep themſelves independent of another Nation. And altho' I pretend to know the Thread of the Scotiſh *and* Britiſh *Story full as well as the Author of the Defence, yet out of Reſpect to the Country where I drew my firſt Breath (tho' I owe it nothing elſe) I will offer nothing to the Prejudice of it's Ancient Fame: But if I point at ſome Errata's of this Author, I do it purely to reconcile Miſtakes, and to make a Diſtinction betwixt the* Scotch *Company, and* Scots

Nation; I being so much the Latter's Friend, as to wish them not to embrak in so rotten a Bottom as this of your Company, until you are on an honester Footing than you appear to be at present, that the Honour of the Ancient Kingdom mayn't be sully'd with so notorious a Mistake. I shall only say in Answer to this Paragraph, that altho' your Ancestors were never sparing of their Blood in defending their Country, nay, oftimes in making Reprizal when they could conveniently; yet I must put you in mind, that they were far better pleas'd with enjoying themselves in their old Caledonian *Mountains, than you are now with both Hills and Plains: And I dare say, they had such a Value for their Native Blood, that they would not have been guilty of sending so many innocent and worthy Gentlemen (like Sheep to the Slaughter, or* Spanish *Mines) so far from Home on such an* April *Errand.*

'Tis both hard and unaccountable that this Gentleman, who sets up for your Champion, should use the English *Nation so familiarly, and take such Liberty, not only of frightning them into an Ague, but to Bully a great General, who was never hitherto known to be daunted by more formidable Giants, than the* Quixots *of your Company. He, honest Gentleman, mean'd no Harm at the Granting of the* Octroy; *for, 'tis to be believed, that he could scarce*

ſcarce hear what was whiſper'd to him for the Noiſe of the Namure *Guns. And as for this Project of yours to* Darien, *I dare be poſitive, that he knew nothing of the Matter till it was Five or Six Months done; and then he had it from other Hands.*

If your Colony has left Darien *for Reaſons not as yet publick to the World, 'tis your Fault,* Right Worſhipful Gentlemen, *in undertaking to manage a Project you ſo little underſtood, and not of the* Engliſh *Nation, whoſe Intereſt it is to advance and preſerve their own Colonies, and to keep them from being render'd deſolate by the Clandeſtine Artifices of yours, who induſtriouſly and tacitely ſpread their Declarations over all the* Engliſh *Iſlands and Plantations, making uſe of the King of* Great Britain's *Name, to give the more Authority to the Thing: And by theſe indirect* Manifeſto's, *ſuch Profits, or rather Plunders were inſinuated; that if the Government of* England *had not taken early Meaſures to prevent the ill Conſequences, 'tis to be queſtion'd, whether the greateſt Part of the* Engliſh Weſt-Indies *had not e'er now quitted their Settlements, and been decoy'd into your Colony, under a Cover'd Notion, that you had a Patent from the King, to pick a Quarrel with the* Spaniard; *and to devide the Spoil of* Mexico *and* Peru *amongſt the Servants and Adventures of the Company.*

This Project and Settlement, you know, was ſo ſecretly carried on, that it was not known to England, *till the ſame Wind that brought the News likewiſe, inform'd the Nation, that the* Scots *were march'd over to* Panama *(the chief City on the* Iſthmus *of* Darien, *and the Treaſury-Chamber of all the* Spaniſh *Riches on the South-Sea) and had planted Eighty Guns againſt it. Theſe Proceedings were enough to ſtartle this Nation, who had heard of no War with* Spain, *and who had no great Reaſon to ſuffer their own Subjects to deſert their Plantations, to advance the* Scotch *Colony in their own Wrong. As for this Nation's entring into a War with the* Spaniard, *on the Score of your Company, who beſides their Loſs of Trade, muſt throw away more* Engliſh *Pounds (thrice over) than there's* Scotch, *in your Capital Stock: I'll leave it to any Man of Half an Ounce of Politicks, to find out the Jeſt on't, ſave this Hot-headed Author of your Colony's Defence.*

As for theſe ridiculous and bugbear Stories, which both you and your Champion inſinuate, viz. that if the Scots *ſhould loſe, or be expell'd out of* Darien, *the* French *will certainly poſſeſs themſelves of it. This Story is ſo far vain, that the* French *have another Game to play at preſent with* Spain; *and if they had any ſuch Inclination that Way, they know that Coaſt far better than the* Scots,

and

and might have ſecur'd Carthagena, *when they had it in their Power, and a Legal Title to it by their Arms in the Time of a declar'd War: Which Fortification is as far before your Fort St.* Andrew, *or any Thing that can be made of it; as* Dunkirk *is before* Deale-*Caſtle. But ſtill, if* France *or* Holland *had any ſuch Deſign (as you would make the World believe) why mayn't they ſtill go ſit down within a League of either Side of your Colony with as good a Title as yours, ſince you will coop the* Spaniard *up within his Wall'd Towns and Garriſons. But to leave this unneceſſary Diſpute.* ——

And proceed to the oblique Threatnings wherewith he frightens King William, *to wit, the Fate of thoſe Mean-ſpirited Princes, who blemiſh'd, and were unworthy to wear the Imperial Crown of your Nation; I'll eſpouſe His Majeſty's Cauſe no further than to be confirm'd, that he has been ill ſerv'd by ſome Perſons; and I am of Opinion, that he does not merit one Half of this ill Language at their Hands. Further, I dare ſay ſo much in his Behalf, by what has paſt already, that the* Scots *Crown will receive no Blemiſh or Diſreputation by his wearing of it; altho' he does not think it either fit or juſt to Countenance an indirect Action of any of his Subjects.*

By

By the Beacons which your Author ſets up to ſcare him, to wit, of the Two Baliols *of* James *the Firſt, and* William *the Firſt; any Man without the Help of Spectacles may plainly perceive that he ſticks at nothing to advance his Cauſe, either by wreſting or perverting the Truth of the Hiſtory; by reaſon there can be no Parity in the Example, between the ſeveral Caſes of theſe dead Kings, whom he now brings on the Stage, and King* William; *nor is there any Colour of Alluſion to introduce them here for Scare-crows. For the Truth of the Story runs thus: After the Death of* Alexander *the Third, Ten or a Dozen far-fetched Relations of the Royal Family ſtanding Competitors for the* Scots *Crown, it was agreed on by the different Parties (to prevent the Effuſion of Blood) that the Trial of their ſeveral Claims ſhould be referr'd to* Edward *the Firſt of* England. Edward *accepting the Office came to* Berwick, *then a* Scots *Town, where, after a long time ſpent in canvaſſing the ſeveral Titles, he found* Bruce, Baliol, *and* Cummin *ſtand faireſt for it. To make a long Tale ſhort, he now found it in his Power to accompliſh that which his Predeceſſors ſtruggl'd for, for ſome Hundred Years before, to wit, a Submiſſion of the* Scots *Crown to that of* England. *He felt* Bruce's *Pulſe, but it did not beat to his Mind; then he ſounded* Baliol, *who had more* Engliſh *Blood in him by half than* Scotch, *who eaſily con-*

condeſcended to his Terms. Edward *declares* John Baliol, *King of the* Scots ; *and the* Scots *Nobility having ſwore Allegiance to him in his Preſence, proceeded to his Coronation. That being over, the new* Scots *King, with his Nobility, came to King* Edward, *to thank him for his Civility at* Newcaſtle ; *where having been ſplendidly regaled for ſome time, and the* Engliſh *King being to ſet out for* London, John Baliol, *with his Train of Nobles, came in a full Body to kiſs his Royal Fiſt ; where on a ſuddain, King* Baliol *claps down on his Knee, and ſwore Fealty to* Edward *as his Sovereign Lord, and to hold the* Scots *Crown for ever, of him and his Succeſſors, Kings of* England. Baliol *having ended this Ceremony, pointed to his Subjects to follow his Example ; which being needleſs to diſpute on that Ground, no Body ſtumbl'd at it, ſave a peeviſh Old Gentleman, by Name* Douglaſs, *who was Caged up for the Remainder of his Life, for want of good Manners.* Baliol *and his Nobility march'd home to* Scotland, *as chearfully as Half a Dozen Citizens Wives return to their Husbands, after they have been decoy'd into a Ramble, and kiſs'd by ſtrange Fellows ; and they being all alike Scabby, made no Words on't for ſome Years, and, perhaps, had not then, if a raſh Sentence had not been paſs'd by* Baliol *in his own Court, in Prejudice of a certain Thane or Earl ; who thinking himſelf injur'd*

injur'd, appeal'd to Edward *as Sovereign Lord: King* Edward *being willing to shew his Grandeur, summon'd* Baliol *up to* London, *and being seated on a Throne in his Court of Judicature, his Fellow King had the Honour to set by him, till such time as the Tryal came on, and then he was oblig'd to step down to the Common-Bar, and Plead for himself. The Gentleman had got so much* Scotch *Blood in him, by his Three Years Government of that Kingdom, that he stomach'd the Disgrace, and could not tell how to digest it, till he went Home and consulted his Nobility, who were all alike tardy with himself: It was soon agreed on, to bid* Edward *Defiance, declaring, That their King and they were only trick'd into their Submission by his foul Artifice. Both Nations Arm'd, but* Edward *got the Better on't; for having over-run* Scotland, *and made them once or twice swear heartily anew; and having caught* John Baliol *by the Neck, would never afterwards trust him with such an Office; but kept him Prisoner at* London *for many Years, till at the Intercession of the Pope and* French *King, his Imprisonment was enlarg'd to* France, *where he died a* Quondam *King.*

Now, whether this Fate of John Baliol *has any Relation to what your Author designs (since 'tis plain, that* Edward *both made and unmade him, and not the* Scots) *I refer it back to himself,*

self to reconcile. As for the other Baliol, *by Name* Edward, *and Son to this* John, *he finding that* Robert Bruce *was the Second time dead, came from* France *to* England; *and, there having* Edward *the Third's Leave to raise what Men he could, to seat himself on his Father's Old Throne, found Voluntiers enough (who were the Relations of those who were foil'd at* Bannocksburn) *and with these, and a few of King* Edward's *Ships, he lands in the Heart of* Scotland, *and set young* David Bruce's *Crown on his own Head, without asking the* Scots *Leave; and kept it till* David, *with the Assistance of his Father-in-Law the* French *King, took it from him again. Neither can I see the Paralel in this with King* William's *Case; for* Edward Baliol *took the Crown at his own Hand* nolens volens, *whereas King* William *had it press'd upon his Head by the unanimous Consent of the* Scots *Nation. As for the other Two Examples of* James, *and* William *the First, what they did while it was their Misfortune to be Prisoners in* England, *could not stand in Law; neither did I ever hear, that after their Freedom, and Restauration to their Dignities, their* Scots *Subjects did ever reckon it to them for Sin.*

But as there's no great Advantage or Credit to be purchased, by ripping up such old Sores, so I am willing to leave tracing this Gentle-

man's Evidences, and rather take Things on his own Authority, than foul Paper about it. Mean while, I'll be as impertinent as he is with his Earl of Strafford, *and some others, and acquaint you with something that may be nearer the Case. It has been observ'd in* Scotland, *in the Course of several Ages, that it hath been ever fatal to Families when they became so powerful as to swell beyond their Proportion: Witness that of the* Cummins, *in* Robert Bruce's *Reign, the greatest that ever has been in* Scotland: *Witness that of the* Gouries, *of a latter Date: And if I should add that of a latter Family, within the Reach of our Memory, which might have reasonably been reckon'd in the same Class, had it not been for the happy Accident of the Revolution, I cannot be far mistaken. I say, most of these Gentlemen being too great for Subjects, lost themselves with* Icarus *in their Flight: Some got red-hot Iron Crowns, and others Halters; but that which was more Tragical, their whole Families and Dependants were hung up like Haddocks to dry in the Sun, that they might never afterwards rise in Judgment. I heartily wish there may no such Examples happen in our Age; and that no suspected Persons sit so close to the Machine of your Colony, nor wind up its Spring further than it will go, least it should snap, and the Ingineers get o're the Fingers Ends.*

Being

The Epiſtle Dedicatory.

Being ſenſible that I have treſpaſs'd in the Epidemical Crime of my Fellow-Scribblers, by ſwelling my Dedication beyond its Proportion, and, perhaps, ſaid more than ſome Perſons care to hear; I'll proceed to the Reaſons, why the Gentlemen of the Colony have dropt off by degrees; praying, that the ſame may ſerve, if it be true, that the whole Body has follow'd their Example; as likewiſe, that you mayn't hang thoſe Two poor innocent Gentlemen, Mr. Montgomry *and Mr.* Jollie, *late Councellors of your Colony, whom you have been pleas'd to find Guilty of a Deſign, to deſert* Caledonia, *and run away with one of your Frigats. And, altho' I cannot profeſs my ſelf a Friend to your Project, nor to your Way of Managing of it; yet I declare, that the Proſperity of the Ancient Kingdom, as likewiſe, that a true Senſe of your Miſmanagement of that great* Octroy, *be deeply ingrafted in every* Scots *Man's Heart, is the hearty Wiſh, and Prayer of,*

Right Worſhipful,

PHIL. SCOT.

A DEFENCE OF THE SCOTS ABDICATING DARIEN, &c.

PREJUDICE being apt to byaſs a Man's Pen, the Pur-blind Pillars of the *Scotch* Company will not ſtick to taint me with it. That I mayn't deceive you, I don't profeſs my ſelf their Friend, having the ſame Reaſon, or perhaps more, as thoſe Skelletons who have narrowly eſcap'd the Kingdom of Heaven, and are ſtarv'd to Death. Nevertheleſs, I declare, that I will curb my Sentiments ſo far, as to keep my ſelf cloſe to the Matter of Fact, giving an impartial Account

of

of the Procedure of that Company, and of the indirect Artifices they made use of, to decoy a great many honest Gentlemen, and other brave Fellows into their Service, and how they left them in the Lurtch, expos'd to Famine, and the *Spanish* Mines: And if I deviate in any particular Passage from the Truth, I lay my self fairly open to the fiercest Steel'd Pen of the Company, who, no doubt, will endeavour to vindicate them, and stifle my Credit. All the Favour I ask, is, that they give me fair Play, stick close to the Subject, and bring better Authority for what they write, than what the Author of the Colony's Defence hath offer'd, to disprove the *Spaniards* Title to the *Isthmus* of *Darien*, and to advance that of the *Scotch* Company.

William Paterson, the Author of this Project, and Penman (as it is shrewdly guess'd) of the *Octroy*, came from *Scotland* in his younger Years, with a Pack on his Back, whereof the Print may be seen, if he be alive; having travell'd this Country some Years, he seated himself under the Wing of a warm Widow, near *Oxford*; where finding that Preaching was an easier Trade than his own, soon found himself gifted with an *Anadab*'s Spirit. Prophets being generally despis'd at Home, he went on the *Propoganda fide* Account to the *West-*

Indies, and was one of those who settled the Island of *Providence* a Second time: But meeting some Hardships, and ill Luck there, to wit, a Governour being impos'd on them by the King of *England*, which his Conscience could not admit of, the Property of their Constitutions was alter'd, and they could no longer a Free Port, or Sanctuary for Buccaneers, Pyrates, and such Vermin, who had most need of being reclaim'd into the Church: This Disappointment oblig'd *Prædicant Paterson* to shake the Dust from off his Shooes, and leave that Island under his *Anathema*. He return'd to *Europe* some Twelve Years ago, with his Head full of Projects, having all the Atchievements of Sir *Henry Morgan*, *Batt*, *Sharp*, and the Buccaneers in his Budget: He endeavour'd to make a Market of his Ware in *Holland* and *Hamburgh*, but without any Success: He went afterwards to *Berlin*, open'd his Pack there, and had almost caught the Elector of *Brandenburgh* in his Noose; but that miscarry'd too: He likewise imparted the same Project to Mr. Secretary *Blathwait*, but still with the same Success.

Meeting thus with so many Discouragements in these several Countries, he let his Project sleep for some Years, and pitch'd his Tent at *London*, where Matter is never wanting to exercise plodding Heads. His former Wife

Wife being at reſt as well as his Project, he wanted a Help that was meet for him, and not being very nice, went no further than the Red-fac'd Coffee-woman, a Widow in *Burchin-Lane*, whom he afterwards carry'd to the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*; and at her firſt landing thruſt her about Seven Foot under Ground, to make the Poſſeſſion *de facto* of *New Caledonia* more authentick. While he ſojourn'd in *London*, he found Employment for his Head; and like a true Quack, boggl'd at nothing that offer'd it ſelf to his Thought. He was concern'd in the *Hampſtead*-Water; and had an original Hand in the Project of the Bank of *England*; but being oblig'd (as he ſays himſelf) to communicate his Thoughts to ſome Eminent Men, who were more able to carry it on, they bubbl'd him out of the *Premium*, and the Glory of the Project. The Man thinking himſelf ill us'd by the Managers of the Bank of *England*, ſtudy'd how to be up with them; and in Oppoſition to it, he applies himſelf to the Project of the Orphans Bank, where he was afterwards ſometime a Director; but that miſſing of the Wiſh'd-for-Aim, by reaſon of the clipp'd Money, *&c.* and he meeting with ſome Diſgrace there too, was reſolv'd at once to be even with the Body of the Nation.

Thus diſcontented, and uneaſie in his Mind, he rous'd up his *Darien* Genius, and having

having vampt it up with some new Light he had purchas'd by conversing with *Dampier*, he marches Bag and Baggage to the Ancient Kingdom, where it met with such Encouragement at first sight, that *Johnston*'s, or if you will *Tweddale*'s Act was *viis & modis*, conceiv'd and born in a Trice. At this time, and for some Months afterwards, *Paterson* had more Respect paid him, than His Majesty's High Commissioner; and happy was he or she that had the Favour of a Quarter of an Hours Conversation with this blessed Man. When he appear'd in Publick, he look'd with a Head so full of Business and Care, as if he had *Atlas* his Burthen on his Back; and if a Man had a Fancy to be reputed Wise, the first Step he was to make, was to mimick *Paterson*'s Fiz: Nay, some Persons had such a Conceit of the Miracles he could perform, that they began to talk of an Engine, to give the Island a half Turn-round, and to set the *Orkneys* where the Islands of *Scilly* stand.

But to proceed to the Cream of the Story, you are to understand, that Esquire *Paterson* (for at his Arrival in *Scotland*, he acquir'd or assum'd an *English* Title) brought a Couple of Tutors, or Nurses along with him, who pass'd for Partners in the Project, tho' in Effect a Couple of subtle Youths, whose Office was to put *Paterson*'s crud and indigested Notions into Form. One of these was a *Walloon* by Birth, whose native Name was *Le*

Serrurier, and his *Engliſh* one *James Smith*. He was Maſter of moſt of the *European* Languages, and particularly of the *Engliſh*. He formerly acted as Secretary to the fam'd *Italian* Prince, who put ſo many Tricks on the *Hollanders*, with his Philoſophers Stone; but at this Juncture he paſs'd for a conſiderable *London* Merchant. The others Name was *Daniel Lodge*, born of *Yorkſhire* Parents in *Leith*, in *Scotland*, *per* Accident, bred a Merchant in *Holland*, but crack'd, and turn'd to his Shifts in *England*. This was a pleaſant, facetious Fellow, knew the World exactly, and acted his Part in this Tragi-Comedy to a Miracle.

So much I have offer'd by way of Preliminary, that you may have a Glimpſe of theſe dark Pillars, by which the *Scotch* Company was to be lighted down into the *Spaniſh* or *Darien* Mines, and over that *Iſthmus* to the *Phillipin* Iſlands, *California*, *China*, and to *Japan*, if they could turn *Dutch* Men.

The Companies Act being now touch'd with the Royal Scepter, and for the more Diſpatch, paſs'd thro' the Seals *per Saltum*, they were empower'd by Virtue of a neceſſary Clauſe thereof, to take in Foreign Subſcriptions to a leſſer half of the Capital Stock; ſo that the main Streſs of the Project lay in fingering this Money. The Three Projectors frankly engag'd to uſe their Intereſt with their Correſpondents and Friends in *England*, *Hol-*

Holland, and in the *Hans* Towns, for 300000*l.* at leaſt; in Conſideration of which, and of the Acquiſition, and in Token of their Gratitude for the Project, the Company was to give the *Triumvirate* 20000*l.* So to work all Hands went.

There being three different Parties in *England* jarring at that Time, about the *India* Trade, and the Old Company having got the Better on't, it was eaſie to draw a great many of the Male-Contents into the *Scotch* Companies Net; nay, the Subſcriptions came in ſo quick that he was the happieſt Man that could get his Name firſt down in their Books: For *Paterſon* preach'd up only an *India* Trade here in *England*, taking no Notice of *Darien*, but to ſome Select Heads that were able to bear it; when once the Mony was in *Scotl.* they knew how to diſpoſe of it. To be ſhort, they had now more Money in their View than they knew what to do withal, if the Houſe of Commons had not baulk'd them, and reprimanded the Subjects of *England* for their Foolery. The Companies Books were cary'd Home with abundance of Secrecy and Care, tho' they had as good left them behind, there having been never a Groat of the *Engliſh* Money paid in as yet. The Projectors follow'd them as the Sons of *Levi* did the Ark in old Times; and when they came to *Scotland*, their chief Buſineſs was to preach up the vaſt Advantages which the Houſe of Commons fore-

ſaw to acreu to the *Scotch* Company and Nation. by this *Octroy* and Trade, and to back their Sermons with the greater Authority, the Commons Addreſs to the King was printed and reprinted at *Edinburgh* (but not a Syllable of the King's Anſwer mention'd) which confirm'd the whole Country of the Riches they were like to be ſurfeited with by this Act and Trade. To be ſhort, they came in Shoals from all Corners of the Kingdom to *Edinburgh*, Rich, Poor, Blind and Lame, to lodge their Subſcriptions in the Company's Houſe, and to have a Glimpſe of the Man *Paterſon*; who ſatisfy'd them as faſt as they came, that altho' they ſign'd ſuch a Sum for Faſhion's ſake, to give the Company more Reputation Abroad, yet the Quarter Part would only be demanded, there being no occaſion for any more; and that they could not lie out of the Uſe of their Money above 18 Months, or 2 Years at moſt, which by that time, and the Old Cant, of God's Bleſſing, would fetch good Returns, and large Dividends.

The Companies Books had not been long open'd in *Edinburgh*, before 400000 *l.* was ſign'd (when it will be all paid in, the Lord of Hoſts knows) and it now being high time to ſhut the Books there, and go where the Money lay, to wit, the 300000 *l.* in *Holland*, and the *Hans* Towns, the Projectors were conſulted about it. The Reſult of which was, that

that they might not act precipitately in this Affair, it was necessary they should make some real Show of their Resolution and Forwardness, by sending a Couple of fit Persons over to *Amsterdam* and *Hamburgh*, to build half a Dozen of stout Ships of 50 Guns apiece; that by laying out their Money in the *Dutch* Country, the *Dutchmen* might be prepossess'd with a kind Opinion of the Company, and thereby make it appear, how willing they were to extend the warm Rays of their *Octroy*, to People who deserv'd it better than their ungreatful Neighbours.

Some warm Debates happen'd on this Occasion, what Two Persons should be entrusted with this mighty Affair, for by reason the Kirk and Church-money was equally in the Stock, both Parties endeavour'd to imploy their own Instruments. There were several Meetings on this Affair, and it was at long-run amicably concluded, that *Alexander Stevenson*, late Kirk-Treasurer, or Kirk-Warden of *Edinburgh*, a Zealous and Long-grace Sayer, and Capt. *James Gibson*, Merchant and Malignant of *Glasco*, should be the Delegates.

The next material Thing that came in Course was to lodge a Stock of Cash in *London* to answer their Delegates necessary Occasions abroad. The Sum agreed on was either 18 or 20000 *l.* but what Man to entrust with this Sum that was fed on *English* Beef and Puddin, was another Hesitation. The

Oracle

Oracle *Paterſon* being conſulted herein ſagely reſponded, that his Brother *Smith*'s Buſineſs requiring him to go and remain for ſome time at *London*, he expecting ſome Ships home from *Carolina* and *New-England*, wherein he had large Effects; he was of Opinion, that they could not lodge it ſafer than in his Hands. *Smith* returns to *London*, and having got the Gelt in his Sack, never broke his Reſt afterwards about the Project. The Company at the ſame Time had ſubſtituted Two other Caſhiers abroad, to wit, Mr. *Francis Stratford*, Merchant, at *Hamburgh*, (now Governour of that Company) and *Alexander Henderſon*, alias *Archbiſhop*, at *Amſterdam*, who were to draw from *Smith*'s Bank, as the Delegates had Occaſion.

This *Walloon* Banker, and *Italian* Secretary anſwer'd the Bills punctually till a better half of the Money was extracted; about which Time finding the Company baulk'd of the *Hollands*, as well as *Engliſh* Subſcriptions, he thought it neceſſary to hold his hand, and was paſſive in ſuffering a Bill of 200 *l.* of *Stratford*'s drawn on him to be proteſted at *London*. I ſhall leave him here for ſome time, that I may bring the reſt along with me, and only tell you, that *Smith* now finding himſelf Maſter but of 8500*l.* of the Companies Caſh, and not ſure that he ſhould ever ſee ſo much of it again, and looking on this as little more than his *Quota* for the Project

ject and Subscriptions (altho' the Latter happen'd to fail, not through any Fault or Neglect of him, but by the Frowns of the House of Commons in *England*, and *Holland* by some surly *Dutch* Men Proprietors in the *East* and *West-India* Companies, and Lords of *Amsterdam*) he thought the *Premium* wrought for sufficiently, and that it was but just he should pay himself, since his Intention was as honest as if it had succeeded; and if he had any thing over his neat Share, it was convenient to hold it fast to enable him to go to Law the easier with the Company.

The Company bit their Lips, but endeavour'd to keep it hush for some time, that the World might not perceive how they were deservedly bubbl'd. *Smith* knowing their Circumstances never went out of the Way for 15 or 16 Months afterwards; and then being sensible that if once the Compan. Ships were sail'd, there would be no great Occasion to pay him any more Civilities to keep the Project secret, and consequently he must expect the Company would be on his Back. On these Considerations he was on the Wing for his own Country, and was got so far on his Journey as *Gravesend*, when as Luck would had it, he was nabb'd with a *Capias* at the Companies Instance. Some of his own and Wife's Relations were in the Coach with him, to see him to *Dover*, when this Accident happen'd: But he on this Occasion compos'd himself with more Sedateness of Mind, than M. *Boufflers* did at *Namure*; and being unwilling to part with the Money so dearly earn'd, bespoke Lodg-

Lodgings in the *Marſhalſea*, till on the late Revolution of that Sanctuary, the Marſhal and he went off together on a new Project to *Carolina*.

Daniel Lodge was at *Edinburgh*, when the firſt Bill was proteſted, and had his Papers ſeiz'd and carry'd to the Campanies Office, and a Couple of Centries ſet over himſelf, but he being *Yorkſhire* Blood, *Scotch* born, and *Dutch* bred, it was not eaſie to faſten any Thing on him.

Paterſon was at *Hamburgh* on the Embaſſie when he heard of the Misfortune of *Stratford*'s Bill; but all the Mends he could make, was to ſigh and look dull. Nevertheleſs it was obſervable, that altho' *Paterſon* rail'd at *Smith* behind his Back, there was never an ill Word between them when they met: For you are to underſtand, that *Smith* was one of the Companies Commiſſioners in *Holland* and *Hamburgh* about the Time he ſuffer'd the Bill to be proteſted in *London*.

But to return to the ſetting out of this Embaſſie; *Stevenſon* and *Gibſon* being for ſome time gone over the Water to build Ships, and beat the Way for Subſcriptions; the next Step was to chuſe fit Perſons to follow and manage this Point. Five ſuch were appointed by Name of the Committee of Foreign Trade, who were cloath'd with an ample Commiſſion from the Company, to take Subſcriptions Abroad, to appoint Factors, to controul the foreſaid Two Legates, to provide Officers and Seamen; and, in a Word, to do what they thought neceſſary for the Company's Service. *Paterſon* and *Smith* were the firſt Two, —— a *Scotch* Merchant of *London* the Third. The Laird of *Gleneagles* for the Church, and Colonel *John Erskin*, Governour of *Sterling*-Caſtle, and Darling of the Kirk, made up the *Quorum*, the laſt Two being both Men of Honour and Worth, but altogether Strangers to Trade.

Two

Two of these were order'd to *Holland* directly from *Scotland*, and *Gleneagles* was to pass by *London*, where he was to do some business, and take *Smith*, and the other in his way. *Gleneagles* having arriv'd at *London*, and joyn'd with the other two, articled with me at *Moncreif's* Coffee-house, in *November*, 1696. By the Articles of our Contract, I was to go in the Company's Service from *London* to *Amsterdam*, or *Hamburgh*; from thence to *Scotland*, and from thence on a Trading Voyage to either of the *Indies*, as the Company should appoint; and thence back to *Scotland*. I was at the same time made tacitly to believe that I was to go to the *East Indies*, and that the Ships would sail next *March* at farthest. The Encouragement (if I had been candidly dealt with, and honestly paid) seem'd to be fair enough in Merchants Service: So having order'd my Affairs in *England* to go to *India*, I went in Company of these Gentlemen to *Amsterdam*, where we arrived about *Christmas* following.

Here the whole Committee or Embassy met, where having view'd their Ships in that Port, to wit, one of 46 Guns ready built, and another of 60 on the Stocks, they apply'd themselves to the business of Subscriptions. The Scheme laid down to

them was this; *Henderſon* formerly mention'd, a *Scotch Man*, *Caſſart* a *French Man*, —— an *Engliſh Man*, and —— a *Dutch Man*, all Merchants of *Amſterdam*, were to ſubſcribe 8500 *l.* amongſt them (*Smith's* Summ) and were to draw in their Friends and Correſpondents for as much as they could: In conſideration whereof, theſe four were to be the Company's Factors in *Holland*, and to have 2 *per Cent.* for what they bought and ſold. This was eaſily agreed to; and for their further Encouragement, they were inveſted likewiſe with the 2 *per Cent.* Commiſſion of all the Money already laid out by Capt. *Gibſon* on the two Ships, Canvas, Sails, Cables, Anchors, Powder, Guns, *&c.* in all above 1000 *l.* which properly was *Gibſon's* right by his Commiſſion from the Company. This was the firſt honeſt ſtep they made by Vertue of their controuling Power.

Theſe new *Dutch* Factors ply'd their Friends all over *Holland*, who generally for ſome time before were mightily taken with the *Scotch East India* Trade, their Exemption from Duties for 21 years, and tickled with the Conceit that they ſhould be Sharers in it. But through an ugly accident which happen'd in *Campbire*, at *Paterſon's* and the Colloneſs landing, the whole

whole Mess of the Companies Pottage was in danger of being miscook'd. The Story runs thus; These Gentlemen had a rough and tedious Passage from *Scotland*, and it seems the Skipper had not laid in Provisions for his Passengers over plentifully, which was the occasion that *Paterson* at his landing in *Camphire* (and being welcom'd and entertain'd by one *Panton*, a Merchant there) tasted more freely of the Creature then he us'd to do; (for he always set up for a Water-biber) which *Panton* perceiving, ply'd him warmly, and took the Liberty of pumping him. *Paterson*'s Tongue running glib with the *Hollands* Cannal Water on the *Elogium*'s of the *Octroy*, happen'd to bable out a Secret of the Company, *viz. That their Act empower'd them to give Commissions to any kind of People* (*without asking their Nation*) *to Trade to the* Indies *under* Scots *Colours*; *and that such People might dispose of their* India *Goods where they pleas'd, providing they made a sham Entry in* Scotland. And if the Company should agree to take 3 *per Cent.* for the Goods, such Ships as Traded with their Commission were able to undersel the *English* and *Dutch* full 17 *per Cent.* *Panton* was glad of the News, and improv'd the Story amongst his Friend, who design'd to sign in the Companies

Books; and these run now on this Commission for the 3 *per Cent*, finding it a safer way of Trading, then by putting their Money in the Companies bottom; neither would they of *Zealand* ever afterwards enter on any other Terms.

We were no sooner come to *Amsterdam*, then we met with this Story fresh in the Coffee-houses there. It was too late for *Paterson* to eat in his words; so that all the *Salvo* we could make to dash the Story, was by saying, that this was the Companies sho'el Anchor, if every thing else should fail them; but that they had no occasion to make use of that Power at present; nor that Mr. *Paterson* meant so when he spoke it. But that which gave us the dead stroke in *Holland*, just as the Companies Books were open'd, the *East* and *West India* Companies run open mouth'd to the Lords of *Amsterdam*, shewing what was hatching by the *Scotch* Commissioners in their City, to ruine the Trade of the United Provinces. The Lords gave them satisfaction in the matter, and made no noise of it; for we were made to understand in a day or two afterwards, that our Subscriptions were dash'd, and none to be expected there. On this occasion it was resolved in the Committee, that *Paterson*, and the Colonel

lonel ſhould forthwith proceed to *Hamburgh*, to ſee what could be done there, the reſt being to remain in *Holland* for ſome time, to give the leſs Umbrage to the *Hamburgh* Project.

The *Hamburghers* ſwallow'd the bait to a wiſh; for the more oppoſition the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* offer'd to the Project, confirm'd them the more that it was their Intereſt to embrace it. The River *Elve*, on which *Hamburgh* ſtands, is Navigable for flat bottom Barges of 70 or 80 Tuns, for ſome 200 Miles up into the Country of *Germany*, which gives them an opportunity of ſerving all the *North* parts of that *Empire* with Goods more conveniently then the *Hollanders* can: And as they have no *Eaſt India* Goods but what they have at ſecond hand from *England* and *Holland*, or a few from *Denmark*, by joyning now with the *Scotch* Company, they have a proſpect of worming the *Hollander* out of a good part of the *German* Trade.

In *Parentheſi* I muſt own that this part of the Project was reaſonable on both the *Scotch* and *Hamburgher* ſide, if it had been meant as it was told; but the Devil on't was, the *Hamburgers* knew nothing of *Darien*, but builded altogether on Ships laden with *India* Goods, whereof their

City and Port was to be the Receptacle and Mart; while *Paterſon* wanted only their Money to raiſe Forces to over-run *Mexico* and *Peru*.

The way being thus prepared by theſe two Fore-runners, the body of the Committee receiv'd advice to repair thither at ſight, all things being ready for Signing and Sealing. And I receiving orders to accompany them, ſet out from *Amſterdam* after we had ſpent three Months there in vain; and arrived at *Hamburgh* on *Lady-day*, 1697. Our Affair was ſo generally favour'd by the Burghers of this City, that at our arrival we printed *Placaarts*, and fix'd them on the Exchange, and other publick Places there, intimating that the Companies Books were to be open'd in the *Commercie Kamber* the week following for Subſcriptions; but they were to take notice (the beſt Jeſt on't) *That by the Conſtitutions of the Company, no Man could ſign above* 3000 l. *ſterling for himſelf; as likewiſe, that their Books could not admit above* 200000 l. *in all.*

Theſe *Placaarts* were no ſooner paſted up on the Poſts, than Pamphlets were crying up and down the Streets, full of ill Nature, and a great many ſad Truths; adviſing the *Hamburghers* to enquire further into the Project, before they parted with

with their Money, leſt they ſhould never ſee it again. Theſe Pamphlets contain'd 3 or 4 Sheets, and were printed in *French*, *High* and *Low Dutch*, under the Title of, *A Letter from a Friend in* Amſterdam, *to his Friend in* Hamburgh. But the *Hamburghers* having ſuch a Confidence in *Paterſon*'s Phiz, and ſmooth Tongue, and by the forward appearance the Company made with their new Ships of 50 Guns all in a row, they believ'd all this ſtuff to be hatch'd in *Samaria*, from whence no good can be expected.

But that the Scriptures might be fulfill'd, *by the Elects meeting with Diſappointments and Croſſes while they ſojourn here*; or on the other hand, *that of Honeſty's being the beſt Policy*, either you pleaſe; the Companies Book was likewiſe ſhut up here, without getting a Groat of the *Hamburgers* Money, although that City got near 30000 *l.* of the Company's. The human reaſon of this Diſappointment, if I am not miſtaken, was as follows; in the *Octroy* there was a certain unneceſſary Paragraph, which occaſion'd a great many *Engliſh* and *Hollands* Speculations, *viz. That in caſe the Company ſhould be interrupted in their Trade*, &c. *the King had ingag'd to interpoſe the Regal Authority to do them Right, and that at the publick Charge. Paterſon*,

terſon, and the other Agents of the Company, to magnifie their Charter, did inſinuate in all Companies, *That the King was to aſſiſt and defend them with his Ships of War, or otherwiſe, if there was occaſion, and that out of his own Pocket, which they did not queſtion to be Engliſh Coin*; when at the ſame time, the words of the Act cannot bear it; much leſs, That a *Scots* Act of Parliament ſhould diſpoſe of *Engliſh* Ships and Money But ſince the *Scotch* Company would force this gloſs on the Text for their Advantage, the *Engliſh* Traders to *India* made as profitable a uſe of it the other way; for ſay they, Was it not enough that the King of *Great Britain* ſhould paſs an Act in favour of his *Scots* Subjects to Trade to *India*, and exempt them from Duties for 21 years, which is an evitable Prejudice to the *Engliſh* Trade, ſince it's impoſſible to hinder them from ſending their *India* Goods by ſtealth over the Border, and underſelling our Markets by 25, or 30 *per Cent.* but that they ſhould be empower'd to take in Forreigners to be Sharers with them in this Trade; and not only thereby ſuck the Blood and Marrow out of *England* for 21 years, but that our *Engliſh* Ships of War (for the maintenance of which great Taxes and Impoſts are laid on our Trade and Goods)

Goods) ſhould defend this *Scotch* Companies Trade, and therefore theſe Forreigners who run away with the whole.

Theſe weak Proceedings of *Paterſon* and the other Agents, with the Sentiments the *Engliſh* had of it, made the Government of *England*, ſend to the Senate of *Hamburgh* a Caution by Sir *Paul Ricaut*, Reſident there, to take care how they ſuffer'd their Burghers to Embark with Private Men of the Kings Subjects, under the hopes of the *Engliſh* Protection, which being to the Prejudice of their own Subjects, could not be Reaſonably expected. This was the Subſtance of the Memorial given in to that Senate, who had never hitherto countenanc'd the Committee, altho' the Private Burghers were ſo Reſolute to Joyn.

Adverſe Fortune ſtill attending our Embaſſy, they thought fit to ſteer homewards, and make the beſt of a bad Market, being now fully ſatisfy'd that there's no otherBody'sMoney to be Truſted to but their own: And having left me with Legate *Stevenſon* to tend the Ships till further orders, they ſet out from *Hamburgh* in *April.*

The Report of this Mournfull ſtory being made to the board in *Scotland*, they found that they had been hatching Rotten

Eggs for a Twelve Month by-gone: But that which was ſtill worſe, 50000 *l.* was ſunk into *Dutchland* on Ships that were neither fit for Merchants Service nor War, 8500, Sunk in *Smiths* Pocket, a Cargoe of all ſorts of Goods and Materials for a Plantation ready bought, *viz.* *Scotch* Cloath 8000 peices white, *ditto* Brown 4 or 5000. *ditto* dyed and ſtrypt 2000. Sterling Searges 8000 Ells, Mens and Womens Shoes 5 or 6000 pair, Slippers about 1500 pair, Mens Courſe Stockins 4000 pair, Womens *ditto* 2000 pair, *Scotch* Hats a great quantity, *Engliſh* Bibles 1500; Perewigs 4000. ſome Long, ſome ſhort, Campaigns, *Spaniſh* Bobs and Natural ones; and truly they were all Natural, for being made of *Highlanders* Hair, which is Blanch'd, with the Rain and Sun, when they came to be open'd in the *Weſt-Indies*, they lookt like ſo many of *Samſons* Fireſhips that he ſent amongſt the *Philiſtines*, and could be of no uſe to the Colony, if it were not to mix with their Lyme when they Plaſter'd the Walls of their Houſes. This was all the Merchandible Cargoe, ſave about 500 *l.* worth of *Hamburgh* Linnen and *Holland*, and to the ſame value of little Trincums bought in *Holland* for a *Guinea* or *Indian* Trade, and about 2 or 3 Hogsſheads of Beezwax. The reſt was in Materials for the

the Collony, *viz.* Hoes, Axes, Matchect, Knives, *&c.* And for the main design 1500 Square Buccaneer peices, some hundreds of Barrels of Powder, shot Proportionable and about 80 or 90 Drums. This Cargoe of Merchandize and Materials for the Collony, amounted to about 19000 *l.* including 25 *per Cent.* advance, which the company charg'd on every Article. So that there was about 74000 of the 100000 *l.* Sunk. The remainder was towards Provisions, payment of Sailors and other Servants of the Company, and discharge of the Companies Civil List: But of this odd Money above 10000 *l.* was deficient in the Payments, to wit, some great Men could not be forc'd to pay, they Natively thinking their Countenance to the thing to be enough for their share; others were Sick and a great many Stark Dead of the Project, but most of them not able to raise their *Quota*.

The Companies affairs looking now so pale fac'd, they were for some time staggering in their Resolutions: And on this occasion it was propos'd to the board by the Laird of *Drummellier*, a Topping and Leading Man of the Company, and backt by *Robert Watson*, a Leading Man amongst the Merchant Directors, that they should send order to their Agents in *Holland* and

Hamburgh to sell off the Ships, and that their Committee of homeward Improvements should dispose of the foresaid Cargoe to the best Advantage, and the Company to make a Dividend of the Product, amongst the Proprietors of the stock. This Proposal was Rejected as Inglorious, and they being now *in utrumque Parati*, were Resolv'd *Seu varsare doles*, and that their Servants, but not themselves, should be the Victims to the *Certæ occumbere Morti*.

From this Minute they fixt their Resolutions, that since their Ships were built, the Provisions, Cargoe and other Necessaries already provided, they should not look back, but equip for Sea with all Expedition; if they Perish there, or the Project Miscarry, they could show the World that they drove the Nail so far as it would go, and at last shift the Miscarriage from off themselves. And to satisfy the World that their dispair was evident; at the signing of the Companies last Instructions to the Collony, This *Drummellier* would have it added in the Postscript as a Benediction. That they should get Money Honestly if they could, but be sure to get it, and if they came home without it, then the Divil get them all.

By the sequel of the story the Reader may

may Judge whether they did not put this Resolution into Practice. After the Embassy or Committee of foreign Trade left *Hamburge*, nothing Remarkable past there; Save that after Mr. *Stratford* had given them a Splendid Entertainment for their joy, they went off without bidding him kiss there—and Believing that all these dishes were a Pig of their own Sow, left Instructions behind them, that he should not act any longer as the Companies Cashier. Whether this was the True Reason of his being laid aside, or that of his Original Sin, I cannot resolve you; but this I know that he gave them Credit at their first appearance in *Hamburgh*, indented with the builder of the 4 ships, with the Ropemakers, Blacksmiths and other Artificers to furnish the Company, and bound himself for performance of the several Contracts; and at last he was oblig'd to arrest the same ships (as they were fitting out) for 800*l.* Flemish, that being the Ballance of his accompts; and they lay in *Limbo* a fortnight or 3 weeks before this Money could be paid.

We sail'd with two of these Ships, *viz.* the *Caledonia* and *St. Andrew* from the River of *Hamburgh* the 10 of *November* 1697. (having left the other two behind us, ready Lanch't and lying to Rot in the Ouse,) and

and arriv'd in *Leith* Road on the 20*th*, to the no small joy of the Proprietors of the Stock, two thirds of whom firmly believ'd for six Months by-gone that all was cheat, and that there was no such Ships in *Rerum Natura*.

About the same time the Rising Sun of 60 Guns, and the Unicorn of 46, were fallen down from *Amsterdam* to the Texel, in order to joyn us, that we might make our Parade the more Splendid in *Leith* Road. These Ships, you must know, had their Compliment of Men bore on them for several Months before, as if they had been ready to sail; but *Archbishop Henderson*, their trusty Friend and Agent, having about 3000 *l.* due to him and Partners, did not think it discreet to let both Ships go till he had the Money in his Pocket, several kind Epistles and Civil words past between the Company and him on this occasion, but to no Material purpose; for he was apprehensive that if once they got the Ships in *Scotland*, his Money might be like butter in the Black Dogs Hauce, or that they might detain so much of it as came to the *Quota* of his and Partners Subscriptions, which he and they had no Inclination to. On these considerations the *Archbishop* sent home the Unicorn, and brought the Companies Rising Sun back to the *Meredian* of

Am-

Amsterdam, where she being Frozen up, for that Season, was oblig'd to lie till she thaw'd, and for Some Months afterwards, till he had his *Dutch* gilt again. And indeed I think the accident was very lucky, for besides the Honour which the Company purchas'd by entertaining the Czar of *Moscovy* aboard while she lay at the pales of *Amsterdam*, if she had gone to the *West-Indies*, she might have set there and never risen again; and so *Drummellier* would have been disappointed of his dividend.

The *Hamburger* Ships and the *Unicorn* being arriv'd at *Leith*, it was resolv'd to carry them up the *Fryth* till the hardest of the Winter was over; but the Seamen (a great part of whom had been 11 or 12 Months in the Service, and as void of Faith as Money) would not move an Inch till they were paid, altho' several of the directors came aboard to Interpose their Authority. This oblig'd a certain Committee to be appointed for their Payment, who brought down the Money to *Leith*, and endeavouring to show themselves Good Husbands for the Company, pinch't may be 5, 6 or 7 shillings out of each Mans Wages, (not for Dammages for there was no Goods) which oblig'd the Sailors to give them a hearty curse to their Faces, so soon as they had got the Money in their Hats. All that

was

was sav'd in the *Caledonia* by this Management was within 40 *l*; And when I told Little *Blackwood* my sentiments of it at the Pay-Table, he reply'd that it was no matter, every little makes a Mickle, and the Company had need to save all they can. The Consequence of this was, that when the Company had occasion to fit out their Ships in the Spring, none of these Sailors that were Worth the hanging would list themselves, and we were oblig'd to take Tag, Rag and Bobtail, and such as no Skipper in the *Fryth* would entertain. The Company indeed depended on their Country Men who were discharg'd of the English Service on the Peace, but they were disappointed, for none of them would leave Old *England*. So that when we came to Sea we were so feebly mann'd, (altho' we had Eater's enough) that if it had not been for the Land Officers and their Men, I am satisfy'd that our ships had run away with us.

In *July* following the Ships being ready to Sail, the Sea Men were paid off, and for their further Incouragement receiv'd two Months pay Advance; as for the rest, these who are alive must catch it if they can, tho' it may be gues's'd what they have to trust to by the defences which the Company makes at this time in Doctors Commons, in an Action

Action of Sea Wages they are sued for: To wit, that the Company Transfer'd their Ships, Men and Cargo, over to the Collonie; that they are now two distinct Societies, that what Wages were due by the Company, were paid before the Ships went from *Scotland*; and altho' the Company advanc'd the foresaid two Months Pay, yet it was not on their own account, but lent to the Collonie. This is a pretty honest Evasion of the Company to cheat so many poor Men out of their Wages: I don't know what success such Defences will meet with in their own Courts, but they are now rejected in *Doctors Commons*, and the Money order'd to be brought into the Court.

But before I go any further, I'll give you a clearer View of this Transfer. The Company having laid out a round Summ of Money on this Expedition, thought the most probable way of seeing it again, was to charge the Collonie with it, to let them improve it the best way they could, and pay the Company certain Parcels of it at such and such Terms. They valu'd these three Ships and Cargo, with the two Tenders, (including the Provisions and Mens Wages they had already paid) at 70000 *l.* for which they took the Councils Bond to be paid as aforesaid. They

were likewiſe to have certain ſhares in the Mines, Minerals, &c. and to be free of Duties in the *Collonies* Ports, whereas Strangers were to pay 2 *per Cent.* (which was to be apply'd to the maintenance of the Collonies Forts, and other neceſſary Uſes.) Theſe Gentlemen, who gave their joynt Bond for this 70000 *l.* were not worth ſo many *Engliſh* Pence; and the Transfer was ſo clandeſtinely carried on, that if it had been known to the Sea-men, or thoſe who expected Wages, there had not one Soul of them gone in the Service. And I dare be poſitive, that when we ariv'd in *Darien*, this Transfer was ſuch a ſecret, that it was not known to ten Men beſides the Councellors.

The Seamen being thus paid by the Company what was due to them, with the two Months advance, were made believe that when once theſe Landmen were ſet aſhore, they were to proceed on a Trading Voyage, and return to *Scotland* to be paid, wherewith they were well enough ſatisfy'd. The Landmen were ſtill in worſe Circumſtances, for they had no Pay, nor none to truſt to; only the hopes they were faten'd with of picking the Gold off the Leaves of the Trees, which few of them doubted of, that went on that foot. For the more formality of the thing, and to make it of a greater value, there

there was a kind of Indenture or Contract between the Company and these Landmen. The Soldiers were not to go under that Denomination, but that of Planters. The 60 Officers (12 of them had been Captains in *Flanders*, and the other 48 subalterns) were term'd Overseers, Sub-Overseers and Assistants. The true Mystery of these cramp Names lay here, if I am not mistaken ; The *Octroy* empower'd the Company to lift and entertain Souldiers for the service of their Collonies, and to exercise Martial Discipline; but at the same time, what Souldiers they lifted in *Scotland*, must be with the Privy Councils leave first obtain'd. At the lifting and enrolling of these Land-men, the Company thought it in vain to ask the Council that favour, for some weighty Reasons, which I shall not offer here; so took their own way of Christ'ning them, designing at the same time to make them answer the same ends, when once they got them between the *Tropicks*; and in the mean time, it was not necessary that these Land Officers, or Planting Soldiers should know the secret of their Infirmity. I must tell you, that *Pennycook*, and some more of the Council were so ignorant of it, that if it had not been for one who was none of their Number, they had hang'd up some of the Land-men at Sea, to try their hand.

And after we had been a while in the Collony, and the poor Men ſo ſtarv'd, that they were oblig'd to deſert to any body that could fill their Bellies, ſome 9 or 10 of theſe were brought back by a party; and ſince they found they could not hang them, without running the hazard of being hang'd themſelves for it afterwards, they chain'd great Weights of Iron to their Leggs, and condemn'd them for a certain number of years to Slavery. Theſe Actings were as unlegal as the other; for if by the Conſtitutions of the Collony their Port be free, and if theſe Men be Planters by the Indenture or Contract made with the Company, they are Freemen, and not lyable to the laſh of Martial Diſcipline.

The Terms of theſe Indentures run thus, *That the Planters ſhould be maintain'd by the Company three Years; and what Ground they clear'd in that time, ſhould be diſpos'd of by the Collony, as they ſhould think fit; allowing 50 Acres to each Planter, with a Houſe in the Capital City of 50 foot ſquare; 100 Acres to each Officer, with a Houſe proportionable.* And to ſet the greater value on that rich Land, the Councellors themſelves, by the Conſtitutions, could not have above three Portions, to wit, 150 Acres. Theſe poor deluded Fellows had better ſold themſelves for the time in ſome of the *Engliſh*

or

or *French* Plantations, and have got 18 or 20*l.* by the bargain, without either running the hazard of ſtarving, or of the *Spaniſh* Mines. And altho' there had been no danger of either, yet what could a naked man make of this 50 Acres of Ground, or of 500, at the three years end, if it were not to ſow Potatoes, Maez, and Plantains, and live as *Adam* did.

This is all the Encouragement theſe Gentlemen and Planters had to truſt to; and altho' moſt, or all the Officers had been liſted 4 or 5 Months before they were ſhip'd aboard, yet they had not a farthing allow'd them for their ſubſiſtance, but what the 12 Captains or Overſeers could pinch out of their Companies; neither could that be much, for the Planters were allow'd but 3*d* a day for their ſubſiſtance, from the date of their liſting, to their going on board; indeed about a Month before we ſail'd, upon a certain occaſion of the Land Officers grumbling, the Directors, out of their Benevolence, or rather to ſtop their Mouths, order'd 10*l.* for each Captain, with a Subſcription of 100*l.* in the Capital Stock (which was only 25*l.* Gift,) and for the Subalterns in Proportion; which generous Gratuity made all things eaſie.

The

The Contract or Charter Party between the Company and Council, was penn'd before the Councellors were created; but that ſignify'd little, for theſe Candidates would ſcarce have ſtuck at the Terms, tho' they had been harder. But to tell you the truth, they were to ſeek for Perſons fit for that purpoſe, and were glad to take ſuch as they could get. By the Conſtitutions agreed on by *Rozy Mackenzie*, and the Company, ſeven Councellors were to be created before the Ships ſail'd from *Scotland*, and theſe were to be inveſted with a Power to aſſume to the number of ſix more, as they ſhould ſee occaſion. I have reaſon to believe that the deſign of leaving theſe ſix Chairs vacant, was for the Encouragement of ſuch *Engliſh* or *French* Men of Subſtance, as ſhould come in and joyn them from the *Weſt India* Plantations.

To give you the Characters at large of theſe 7 Councellors, would be tedious; wherefore I deſire you may accept of this in ſhort. 1. James Cunningham *led the Van; he had been a Major in the* Scots *Forces, and disbanded on the Peace; a Pillar of the Kirk, and never out of* Scotland *before.* 2. Donald Macay, *a Scrivener's or Writer's Clerk, newly come out of his Apprenticeſhip, but a Youth of good Parts.* 3. — Veach, *a Man*

Man of no Trade, but advanc'd to this Post on the account his Father was a godly Minister, and a Glorifier of God, I think in the Grass-market. 4. Robert Jollie, *a jolly* Scotch *over-grown* Hamburger, *who was formerly a Skipper, and us'd the* Shetland *Trade, but had for some dozen years been set up at* Hamburgh, *in quality of Merchant; and after that a Broker, and now a Councellor.* 5. Robert Pennycook, *formerly a Surgeon in the English Navy, then a Lieutenant, and afterwards Commander of a Bomb; this Gentleman having gain'd Experience by being 21 years from* Scotland *in several Trades or Occupations, he was by a Stratagem of an Acquaintance of mine, call'd home to take this Post upon him, about 6 or 7 Weeks before we sail'd, and was advanc'd by the Interest of the Kirk Party, the better to ballance that of the Church, and to keep out Dr.* M— *a reputed Atheist, who would certainly have debauch'd both. Mr.* Pennycook *was not only Councellor, but likewise Captain, Commadore, and the very* Orford *of our Navy.* 6. James Montgomrie, *whose Designation I cannot well tell, but you may know him by the Story of the bloody Fight he had with the* Spaniard, *where so many hundred were kill'd and taken Prisoners, tho' at the same time there was never a* Spaniard *hurt. This Gentleman was formerly an Ensign in the* Scots

Guards,

Guards, but not liking that Office, left it, and carry'd a brown Musket in another Regiment. The Reasons of his Preferment to this Post, was his Grand-fathers being Earl of Eglington; *and his own Father, by the Mothers side, being Major General* Montgomrie. 7. Robert Pincarton, *a good down right, rough spun Tar, never known before by any Designation or State Office, save that of Boatswain to Sir* William Phipps, *when he was on the* Wreck; *and now, poor fellow, a Diver in the* Spanish *Mines at* Carthagena.

These were the seven wise Men, who were to divide *Mexico* and *Peru* amongst them. *Veach* being sick of the Voyage, stay'd at home; and on this occasion *William Paterson*, whom I hinted at before, having come from *Scotland* with us in quality of Voluntier (for he was in Disgrace some Months before we came off; and his projecting Head growing too big to get out of the Ports of *Edinburgh* without an Engine, he was at his liberty either to go into the *Tolbooth*, or on board in this Station, which he pleas'd) was assum'd into the Senate in *Veach*'s Place, after we had got so far as the *Madera's* on our Voyage.

I had almost forgot to tell you of our Clergy, with whom I ought, in good Manners,

Manners, to have begun. Two Miniſters with a Journey Man to take up the Pſalm, were Commiſſion'd by the General Aſſembly with full Inſtructions, I ſuppoſe, to diſpoſe of the Bibles amongſt the *Indians*. One of theſe was an Extraordinary Good Man, but he ow'd his Education to the Army in *Flanders* where the Kirk Ruſt was rubb'd off him. The other was Young Headſtrong, as infallible as his Holineſs, Sawcy and as Impertinent as the Moderator himſelf. They thought to have Eſtabliſht the *Scotch* Kirk Diſcipline in *America*, but having paſt the Tropick of *Cancer*, they could find ſuch a ſenſible Alteration in our Men, nay in the *Major* himſelf, by the Influence of that Zone, that they began to diſpair of it, and their heart-ſtrings being quite broke at the ſight of that Dear Land of Promiſe, they juſt lookt upon it and ſo were gather'd to their Fathers. They were not much miſs't indeed; for the only time we had occaſion for the Prieſtly Office, was the Marriage of *Paterſons* Wifes Maid, after her belly had been a third up, and then her Maſter happening to be *Præſes*, or high Prieſt for the week, Celebrated it in as much form or perhaps more than if it had been done in a *Scotch* Kirk.

But before I leave *Europe* altogether ; I must tell you one passage more, which was a Secret to a great part of the Court of Directors when we left *Scotland*, it being manag'd only by the Private Committee, and 2 or 3 more. The story runs thus, The Company's, or rather Private Committees Agents at *London*, had been for some time in Terms with *Lionel Wafer* to bring him into the Service, they had no positive Instructions to agree with him at first, but only to sound him as to the particulars of the Country of *Darien*. *Wafer*, it seems, was in Terms with some Private Merchants of *London*, about sending a Vessel thither for *Nicaragua* Wood, to which he was to *Pilot* them ; and about the same time he was putting his Journalls into the press. *Pennycook*, before he left *London*, went with Mr. *Fletcher* a *Scots* Gentleman and some others designedly to discourse this *Wafer*, and having treated him at *Pontacks*, satisfy'd themselves of his capacitie to serve the Company, they advis'd him not to be hasty in Publishing his Book, or at least till he heard further from *Scotland*. There was a collection of some *Guineas* amongst these Gentlemen for *Wafer*, the better to back their advice. When *Pennycook* arriv'd in *Scotland* he acquainted the Private

vate Committee with his Sentiments of *Wafer*, on which they wrote to Mr. *Fletcher* by the next poſt to ſecure him for the Companies Service, and to make the eaſieſt bargain he could.

Mr. *Wafer* had ſtood for ſome Months by-gone at 1000 *l.* but now Mr. *Fletcher* being in earneſt with him he agreed on the following Terms.

1. He was to ſerve the Company for the ſpace of 2 Years in their Expedition, for which the Company was to pay him 750 *l.* whereof 50 *l.* ready down.

2. He was forthwith to proceed to *Edinbrugh*, and there to Anſwer to ſuch Queſtions as the Private Commitee or Committee of Trade ſhould ask him.

3. In Conſideration of 20 *Guineas* more, which he then received in hand, he was to put a ſtop to the Publiſhing his Book for the ſpace of a Month; and when he came to *Edinbrugh*, if the Company and he could not come to Terms for the ſuppreſſing it altogether, then he was either at Liberty to go in their Service for the foreſaid 700 *l.* or to return to *England*, which he pleas'd.

4. You may eaſily perceive ſomething Myſtical in the wording of theſe Articles, whereby the Company might ſhake their Neck out of their Nooſe, but that Mr. *Fletcher* mean't it ſo, I will not ſay, but am rather willing to believe he was ſincere and Ignorant of the Companies deſign on him.

Mr. *Wafer*, Purſuant to the Contract, (having order'd his Affairs in *England* for his Voyage to *Darien*,) took Poſt for *Scotland*, and on the Road paſt by the Name of *Brown*, by the Committees Directions. He was ſtopt at *Haddinton*, 12 Miles ſhort of *Edinbrugh* by Mr. *Pennycook* who was order'd to Lodge him at Mr. *Fletchers* Houſe, about 2 Miles Wide of that Road, and there he was to ſtay till the Committee ſhould come to him, leaſt by his going into *Edinbrugh* he ſhould be ſeen by *Paterſon* or *Lodge*, (who at this time were kept in the Dark as to the Companies Reſolutions,) or by any other Perſon that might know him. The Private Committee came to him next day, and having enter'd on buſineſs, askt him firſt, if he had order'd his Affairs ſo in *England* that he needed not return. He Anſwered that he had, and

was

was ready to go aboard at 48 hours warning: to this they reply'd that it was very well, tho' by the Sequel of the ſtory you'l find it none of their meaning.

During the firſt 2 or 3 days Conferences the Subject of the diſcourſe was *Darien*, of which he unboſſom'd himſelf freely. And for their further incouragement, he ingaged to lead them to a Treaſure of *Nicaragua* Wood, whereof 300 Men could cut down ſo much in ſix Months, as ſhould defray the whole Charge of the Expedition, which if he did not perform he ſhould forfeit his Title to the 700 *l.* *Premium* agreed on. The Gentlemen were curious in Informing themſelves whereabouts this Treaſure was, whether it was near the Sea or any River whence it could be eaſily Shipt Aboard. *Wafer*, not ſuſpecting any deſign upon him by Perſons of ſo noted Characters, reſolv'd them in every particular, and pointed out the very ſpot of Ground, where it grows, with the bearings and diſtance of it from Golden *Iſland*. They now thinking themſelves Cok-ſure of the Treaſure, and ſufficiently Inſtructed as to the Country, had no more occaſion for *Wafer*, and believ'd that the 700 *l.* Pilotage might be ſav'd, to help to Fetch up *Smiths* Summ.

Next

Next Night he was brought into *Edinbrough* under Pretence of a nearer Communication, and was Lodg'd in a private Cell near the Companies Office Three Pair of Stairs high, where he could ſcarce diſtinguiſh between Sun Light and Moon Light; And here he was oblig'd to keep cloſe leaſt by being ſeen abroad the Project ſhould take Air. *Wafer* was well enough pleas'd with his confinement, having ſtill the 700*l.* in View; but as there's no certainty in Sublunary things, ſo the *Pilot* miſt of his mark; for in a day or 2 afterwards ſome Gentlemen of the Committee came to him, and with abundance of concern made him underſtand that the Project had taken Wind in *England*, that Admiral *Bembo* was Lying with a Squadron at *Spithead* to wait their motion, and that it was reſolv'd that very Morning in the Secret Committee to alter their *Darien* Project. *Wafer* being ſomewhat daunted at the news, had but little to ſay to the matter: And theſe Gentlemen to blind him the more, askt him ſeveral Queſtions about the Rivers of *Platte* and *Amazones*, (both 1000 Leagues Wide of *Darien*,) and whether he could be ſerviceable to them that way; to which he Anſwered no.

Thus

Thus they parted from him, shewing a great concern for their own Disappointment, as well as his; telling him withal, That since they could not go in his *Darien* Project, they would think of a gratuity fit for him, which he might expect that evening.

This Gratuity was the Summ of 20 *Guineas*, which he receiv'd by the hand of Mr. *Pennycook*: [And I suppose he was now at Liberty to Print his Book, for I think he was never so much as Commun'd with about it. I was order'd to see him out of Town, which gave me an Opportunity of having the Mournful story Recapitulated, whereof neither he nor I at that time knew the Draught. It was not Necessary to enjoin *Wafer* to Conceal his *Scotch* Journey from the *English*, his own interest obliging him to keep it hush, since the greatest remedy he could expect was to be Laught at. However, I dare say he hath acquired so little Knowledge of *Edinburgh* (except what he Learn'd of the Company,) that if he were to re-

turn

turn to that City he could no more find the way to his Lodging, than the Company could to the *Nicaragua* Wood, Notwithſtanding they thought themſelves ſo ſure of it by Directions.

I was afterwards one of thoſe who went for ſeveral Miles along the Coaſt in Search of this Treaſure, but were oblig'd to give it o'er: And in Lieu of this, our Men were order'd to fell ſeveral kinds of ſtrange Trees which Naturally grow in the Collonies Garden.

Theſe were ſquared and cut in Ten Foot Peices for the eaſier ſtowage, and were to be ſent home by the firſt Ship, to ſee if the Companies Virtuoſo's could find any *Lebanon* amongſt them.

When they come I dare ſay they will Puzzle the General Aſſembly to find Names for them all, for I can ſcarce think that Old Nunkle trotted ſo far *Weſt* to Chriſten them.

But

But that I may now take leave of the Company (whom I am unwilling to part with as yet if it were not for fouling too much Paper) and hale my Topſail-ſheets home for my Voyage to *Darien:* I muſt acquaint you that about 7 or 8 months before we ſail'd, a Committee was order'd for the diſpatch of buſineſs, *viz.* for the victualling and fitting out of the Fleet. I was ordered to aſſiſt at two or three meetings of this Committee with my advice in the Victualling part (that for ſome time before lying within my Province) and they having told me that 900 men was the Compliment they deſign'd for this Expedition, and that they muſt regulate the daily expence according to the ſtore they had, ſo as to make it hold out 9 months; this was ſoon done, and if we had been ready to ſail then, the Proviſions might have held out according to the calculation: but our Maſters being no Witches at their craft a third of their Proviſions were expended before we could be ready to ſail. There was none to be had in *Scotland*, and if there had there was no Money to go to Market; the 100000 *l.* being ſunk, and the Companies credit not worth two pence, notwithſtanding the glorious ſhow our Ships made from the Caſtle-hill of *Edinburgh*. And I have reaſon to believe, that we had ſtuck there as well as the *Riſing Sun* did in the *Pompoſſe*, if it had not been for ſome few Pillars of the Company who mortgag'd their Eſtates

I for

for 4 or 5000 *l.* for which the Company made over the two new Ships at *Hamburgh* and the *Rising Sun* at *Amsterdam* for their security. It was not convenient to let our men know the ill state of our Provisions; but on the other hand, there was such a noise made of our plenty, and of our having a twelve months store of all kinds for 1000 men, that it was like to have set us all by the ears together before we were long at Sea. This management was principally due to Mr. *Robert Blackwood* one of that Committee, a little busy-body, who took this part of it upon him, and is now in disgrace for the same. Whether he deserves it altogether himself I will not say; but however, the Company thinks it necessary he should be the Sacrifice, altho one half of their Collars is not enough to attone for what so many brave Fellows has suffered.

Having sail'd from *Leith* about three days I acquainted Mr. *Pennycook* with my doubts as to the Provisions, and how necessary it was the Council should be satisfied of our store before it were too late. Next day he made the Signal for the Counsellors to repair on board, and the Pursers of the several Ships were ordered to lay an account before them of what Provisions they stood charged with. This done, I was ordered to calculate the whole and make a Report how long the store would hold out at the usual allowance for 1050 men, our Compliment being thereabouts. I could not

not make above 5 months and a half of any ſpecie except Stock-fiſh, of which we had full 11 months, and that at 4 daies of the week, but had not above 4 months Butter and Oyl to it. The Council deſign'd to put into the *Orkney's* to ſend an Expreſs to the Company and give them an account of the ſtate of Proviſions, but meeting with thick and bad weather in the paſſing of them, we were obliged to go on; and having calculated that ſtore to hold out 9 months, our men were forthwith put to that ſharp allowance. This occaſion'd ill blood enough, and I was like to have got my throat cut for being the author of it. As for our Drink, we had not above ten tunn of Beer in our Navy when we left *Leith*; but in lieu thereof we were aſſur'd by the Company, that we ſhould take in Wine at *Madera's*, for which they had ſent us credit on Mr. *Miles*, who had Effects in his hands of one *William Arbuckles* a Director; but being come thither, we found this to be a miſtake, to ſay no worſe on't. Our men now being at ſuch ſhort allowance, and no other Drink to truſt to but ſtinking Water, did not know how to brook it well.

The Officers and Gentlemen Voluntiers, who had brought but little money with them (being in hopes that there was enough before them) were obliged to ſell their moveables to *Jack Portugueeſe*, ſuch as Scarlet Coats, Cloaks and Swords, wherewith they pur-

chas'd a little Wine for themſelves. The Senate was in the ſame caſe, for they had no Caſh in their Bank, and being under ſuch another neceſſity as *David* was when he eat the Shew-bread, made bold with the ſeveral Ships ſtock-purſes, wherein was only 100 *l.* for each Ship, and 10 *l.* for each Tender, in caſe they ſhould meet with any diſaſter at Sea and be oblig'd to be put into a Foreign Port. With this Money, and a few Pipe-ſtaves, they purchas'd 27 Pipes of Wine, and a ſmall recruit of freſh Proviſions. But this would not have gone far, for if it had been ſerv'd out but at a quarter of a pint a day to each man it would not have held out above ſix weeks.

That you may taſt a little of our Proviſions as well as I, you muſt know that our Stock-fiſh was the beſt, if there had been a proportion of Butter or Oyl to it. Our Beef was 3 fourths *Iriſh*, and the reſt *Scotch*, both alike fit for a long Voyage. There was about a fifth part of the *Iriſh* ſtall-fed, the reſt graſs Beef, and the whole about 18 months in ſalt. As for our Bread, 27000 *l.* weight of it was made up of damnified Wheat which was bought cheap, and the money of it is now in the pocket of a Director, whoſe Chriſtian Name is *Drummellier*. This Bread was not fit for dogs to eat, but it was a mercy we had a good many *Highlanders* in our Legion, who were not uſed to feed on much of God's Creatures that's hallowed. The Pork was indiffe-

rent

rent good, but there being no great ſtore of it aboard we reſerv'd it always for our *Sundays* dinner. As for Cheeſe, we had none, by reaſon, I ſuppoſe, that only ſerves for concoction, or to create an appetite.

Thus we march'd as the *Scots* Armies did in former days with their 40 days Proviſions on their backs againſt their Enemies; whom if they did not meet before that term was expir'd they diſpers'd and went home again. But their caſe and ours differ'd in ſome eſſentials, theſe were never far from home, knew what to truſt to, and if they happen'd to be diſappointed of the Enemies Plunder, they could make bold with their Neighbours Chickens while they were on the Road, and that never reckon'd Stealing: But we were ſent to the back of Gods elbow, where we could ſee nothing but Death, ſtarving and the *Spaniſh* Mines before our Eyes, and although our inclinations were never ſo ſtrong to borrow any of our Neighbours goods, yet our power was always deficient.

But now to proceed on our Voyage, and give you the remarkable Occurrences of it and of our *Darien* entertainment; you are to know that we left the *Edinburgh Fyrth* on *July* the 17th. 1698, and having fetch'd a turn round the *Orkney's* we arriv'd at *Madera's* about the laſt of *Auguſt*, and ſtaid there 5 or 6 days, till we purchas'd the foreſaid 27 Pipes of Wine. Here the Council open'd their Inſtructions,

ſtructions, by which they were ordered to Steer to *Crabb-Iſland*, and take poſſeſſion of it in the name of the Company and Nation of *Scotland*, and leave a ſmall deteachment there. This Iſland lies to Leeward of *St. a Cruz*, about 9 Leagues, to windward of *Porto-Rico*, about 5 Miles and 18 Leagues from *St. Thomas* a *Daniſh* Iſland. Having made the Iſland of *St. a Cruz*, our Senate order'd the *Unicorn* and one of the Tenders into *St. Thomas*, to get ſome Pilates for the Main, and to return to us at *Crabb Iſland*. While the Council ſat on this occaſion, we drove to the *Northward-moſt* end of *St. a Cruz*, and not being in too much haſt to come to an Anchor at *Crabb Iſland*, we fetch'd a trip to Windward round *St. a Cruz*, which occaſion'd the diſappointment of our ſettlement; for our Miſſioners to *St. Thomas* having innocently ſcatter'd ſome words there of our *Crabb* deſign, the Governour forthwith diſpatch'd a Sloop with ten Men and an Officer to take poſſeſſion of it in the name of *Denmark*; ſo that at our arrival in the Bay, or Road of *Crabb Iſland*, we could ſee a large Tent a ſhore with the King of *Denmark*'s Colours flying. Our Senate ſent aſhore to know the meaning of it, and were made ſenſible that they came too late. Next day the *Unicorn* and Tender arriv'd, having brought with them one *Alliſon*, who Commanded a Sloop in that Squadron of Privateers, who had landed at *Golden Iſland*, and

and march'd over the *Iſthmus*, about 18 Years ago. We were glad of ſuch a Pilot, for there was no Man in our Fleet that had ever been on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt. We left *Crabb Iſland* the ſecond of *October*, and having met with *Southerly* and *Weſterly* winds for 3 Weeks or a Month together, it was the ſecond of *November* before we came to an Anchor on the *Darien* Coaſt. We lay becalm'd a Week between *Cartagena* and *Cape Tiburoon* (which is the *Weſtermoſt* point of the Gulph of *Darien*) where for want of any Air, but what was Sulphurous, our Men fell down and died like rotten Sheep.

We came to an Anchor about 7 Leagues to the *Northweſt* of *Cape Tiburoon*, and altho' we were cloſe by *Golden Iſland*, yet neither our Pilate, nor any perſon elſe knew the Land, till the *Indians* inform'd us. The *Unicorn* being the firſt Ship that came to an Anchor ſent her Boat aſhore; where having left an hoſtage with ſome *Indians*, who had a Plantation there, two Canous with a few *Indians* came on board the Ships. The Canou which came to the *St. Andrew* where I was had Captain *Andreas* on board, who was afterwards the Companies and Collonies Landlord: They were ſome hours aboard before we could make them underſtand us, altho a *Jew* (who was our Linguiſt) endeavour'd it with his *Spaniſh*, *Portugueſe*, *French* and *Dutch*; till once they were got drunk with our Punch

and

and *Madera* Wine, and then Captain *Andreas* with his Lieutenant ſpoke it as faſt and much better than our *Jew*. Having got their load they were not able to go aſhore that night; and next day we weigh'd and came into the Bay within *Golden Iſland*, which is about 4 or 5 Miles wide and deep. And having ſounded with our Boats along the ſhore, we found a Lagoon on the *South-Eaſt* ſide of this Bay, which runs up within the Land about two Miles and a half; this appearing to be a good Harbour for us, we went into it and Chriſtened it, by the name of *Caledonia* Harbour. The mouth or entry of this Harbour is a large Mile over, and ſo ſteep too on both ſides that a Ship may go ſo near as to throw a Biſket-cake aſhore. One ſide of the Harbour towards the Sea is a vaſt Mountain and Peninſula, being joyn'd to the Main at the bottom of the Harbour, by a neck of low Land, about 3 or 400 Paces over. The extream point of this Peninſula, which makes one ſide of the Harbours mouth, is a low and flat piece of Sandy ground, containing about 30 Acres, and divided from the Peninſula by another neck of 180 Paces over from Sea to Sea. This was pitch'd upon as the ſtrongeſt Sanctuary in caſe of attacks, as likewiſe for the convenience of a battery towards the Harbours mouth: We Chriſten'd this piece of ground by the name *New Edinburgh*, and the Platform of 16 Guns which we made there

there was call'd *Fort St. Andrew.* The neck of Land was cut through to let the Sea encompass the New City and Fort, and part it from the Peninsula, and within the Trench a breast-work with a Parapet was rais'd, and a half bastion at each end. On the other side of the Trench the Trees were fell'd, and the ground clear'd for a Musquet-shot round, to give us a fair prospect of the *Spaniard*, in case of an attack. This piece of ground was the *Scotch* Collony; as for the Peninsula it self, it might have been fortify'd with some labour and pains, but not thinking it convenient to part so few men to defend these two Posts, it was resolv'd by the Council to stick close by this and fortify it to the best advantage. As for the opposite point on the Main, which makes the other side of the entry into the Harbour, it is a high ridge of a Mountain which with a sharp or edg'd end butts into the Sea, and so crosly contriv'd that it would puzzle all the Inginiers in *Europe* to plant a Gun on it that could do any Service. So that at best, this Harbour is only a shelter from bad weather, the Platform call'd *Fort St. Andrew* being of little use to defend it; the Ships indeed by bringing a Spring on their Cables, and their Broadsides to bear towards the mouth of the Harbour, might serve for so advantagious a Battery, as one Ship within the Harbour might be as good as two that came in to attack them, the nature of which strength may easily be comprehended by any Seafaring men.

But to return to our Landlord and the other *Indians*; Captain *Andreas*'s Plantation was amongst the Mountains, about 4 miles from our Harbour; the extent of his Government was from *Carrit-bay* about 8 or 9 miles on one side of us, and *Golden Island* about 5 miles on the other side, such a portion of Land being the Lairdship or Kingdom of these Captains whom the *Buccaneers*, *Privateers* and *Scotch* Company would have to be Kings and Sovereign Princes. At our first Landing, Captain *Andreas* came down and lookt on us, and seem'd to be well enough satisfy'd with his new Tenants (he thinking it in vain to appear otherwise, for if he had muster'd his whole Clan to oppose us, 6 of our men with fire-arms were enough to conquer him) but what his sentiment was will appear by the sequel. After that Visit he did not come near us for 3 or 4 weeks; and during this time the mighty noise of our Force spreading all along that Shore, and the hopes we gave them of restoring them to their ancient Liberty and Greatness, there came *Canous* with *Indians* from all the neighbouring parts to view us: it was our interest to make them welcome, so that they came daily to us without any dread, and having staid till we were weary of them, went home again with some little presents of Beads, Looking-glasses, or Knives. About the same time Captain *Ambrosio* came from the Westward to us, with a *Periaga* full of *Indians*, to the number of 30, including Men, Women and Children, (for when they travel

travel they carry their whole Families with them) and having come within half a mile of our Ships they ſet up a Flag of Truce, and lay on their Oars till our Pinnaces went out and aſſur'd them that they ſhould be ſafe. This *Ambroſio* is one of their greateſt Captains, and at preſent an Outlaw, or if you will, at war with the *Spaniard*, having murder'd 10 of them at the Iſle of *Pines* ſometime agoe: his Plantation and Government is about 50 miles to Leeward of the Collony, and about half way between and the *Samballa*'s Iſlands. He was made very welcom, ſtaid 2 or 3 days, and told us that we were not ſafe in Captain *Andreas*'s Ground by reaſon he was a *Spaniſh* Captain and a very *Spaniard* in his heart, and although he ſeem'd to be well enough ſatisfy'd with our landing in his Ground, yet he was not to be truſted but came purely with a deſign to ſpy us. Captain *Andreas* abſenting himſelf ſo long from the Collony added to the ſame ſuſpicion, and our Senatours being reſolv'd to know more of it, 3 of their number went on a Viſit to his Plantation, and having enter'd his *Wigwam* (or Cage-like houſe) he ſat ſtill on his Seat without ſaying one word to them, or ſeeming to know that he ever had ſeen them before, although he was made heartily drunk at both the times he was on board. Mr. *Pennycook* and the others having met with this cold Entertainment from Captain *Andreas* (for they were not offer'd ſo much as a Plantain or Callabaſh of Drink, which is the uſual

Entertainment the *Indians* give to their Friends at their first entry) came home again confirm'd of what *Ambrosio* and the other *Indians* had hitherto said. The next time Capt. *Ambrosio* came he insisted on the same story, and would needs perswade us to remove from that place and come nearer to him, where we needed not apprehend any betraying design from him by reason his killing of these 10 *Spaniards* at the Isle of *Pines*, and taking that *Periaga* with a brass *Pitterara* could never be forgiven by them. Our Council met on this occasion, where it was order'd that *Pennycook*, *Montgomery*, *Macay* and *Pinparton* Counsellors, with *Robert Drummond* Commander of the *Caledonia* should go to *Ambrosio*'s, with the Long-boats and Pinnaces mann'd with 70 Fire-arms, and on their way to sound all the Harbours along the Coast. I was desir'd by these Gentlemen to go with them, and having stopt the first Night at the Isle of *Pines*, 6 Leagues to Leeward of the Collony, where Captain *Long* was riding in His Majesty's Ship the *Rupert Prize*, we lodg'd that Night on Board with him. The next day we proceeded on our Expedition sounding the Coast, where we found some good Harbours that were able to contain all the Navy of *England*, but they could not be fortify'd so as to hinder the Enemy from coming in. When we arriv'd at *Ambrosio*'s little River or Brook we landed, and were Piloted by his Son Captain *Pedro* to the Plantation, which is about a league

league from the Sea, and is so cunning and obscure, that without a Guide it is impossible for any man to find the way to it. We croft one River eleven times, wading always up to the middle, and I believe we could have gone a nearer way if they would, but they do this designedly, that the Path or Road may not be found out by the *Spaniard*. Being arriv'd at the Plantation, Captain *Ambrosio* came out of his Wigwam about 30 Paces and welcom'd us, he had a white Cotton Frock on fring'd at the bottom, and his Court or Clann behind him (who were all muster'd on this occasion) to the number of thirty men besides Women and Children; they were in such Frocks as *Ambrosio*'s, and had short Lances in their hands: He carry'd us into his Wigwam, and his Wives gave every one of us a Plantain and Callabash of their drink (which is made of *Indian* Corn, and like unboil'd Flummery) this being all the Food we got till the next day at noon we came down to our Boats, except a dish of minc'd Meat of Wild Hogg, wherein was about two pound of Meat, which serv'd to give us a taft of their fineft Cheer. We hung in Hammocks that Night in *Ambrosio*'s Wigwam amongst his and his Son *Pedro*'s Wives, and our men lay without round a large Fire that was made for them. Next morning *Ambrosio* went out betimes with 3 or 4 of his men to hunt for us, but there being no appearance of his return at noon, and our Bellies crying Cupboard, we did not stay to bid him farewell; and his Son Captain *Pedro* having re-conducted us to the Sea side, desir'd the Linguist to tell Captain *Pennycook*, that his Father and he expected some Present for that Entertainment. We had brought nothing with us at that time, so told him, that the next time his Father came to the Collony the Council would thank him, and give him something, which afterwards was two pieces of *Scotch* Cloth,

Cloth, two Fire-locks, and some Pouder, with a few Shot, wherewith he was mightily pleas'd.

Having return'd to the Collony, and a Report of the Expedition being made in Council, and the Port where we were reckon'd the most secure, it was resolv'd to remain there, dispatch the Fortification with all expedition, and make the best Bargain with *Andreas* we could. On the last of *November*, being St. *Andrew*'s day, it was manag'd so (but how I cannot resolve you) that Captain *Andreas* came aboard the St. *Andrew*, where was a Festival on the account of the Day, and he being ask'd by the Linguist, why he was so uncivil to the Councellours when they came to visit him in his Plantation, he answer'd, That he meant no harm, and that they must impute it to his Ignorance of the *European* Customs (altho' this Tale could not come well from one that was bred among the *Spaniards*) and not to his want of good-will. He was desir'd to sit down and share with them, the Linguist telling him the occasion of that Feast.

After Dinner, the great Bowl of Punch being set on the Table (the sight of which was pleasant enough to *Andreas*) the Council was resolv'd to push the thing home, and told him what *Ambrosio* and the other *Indians* said of him; to which he reply'd almost *verbatim*, as follows, That he could not deny but that he was a *Spanish* Captain, and had been so a long time; that the reason of his shewing the Collony so little Countenance was, by reason some * 16 or 17 years past, the *English* and *French* landed in that very Ground, being 12 or 13 hundred in number, and made them believe they were come to free them from the *Spanish* Yoke, and restore them to their own Country; his Friends and Relations join'd and assisted them at the taking of *Santta Maria* and other Towns on the *South Sea*, and likewise serv'd on board

* *See History Buchaneers.*

board their Ships with them in their *South Sea* Expeditions, till at two years end they found, that all their design was on the *Spanish* Plunder, and having got that, left them expos'd to the Cruelty of the *Spaniard*, who have cut off most of the *Indians* thereabouts, and that for several Years they were oblig'd to live obscurely in the Mountains; as for himself and Friends, they were oblig'd to accept of the *Spaniard*'s Terms; but at the same time, if he thought that the Collony were sincere, and that their Nation could protect him and his Kindred, he was ready to break with the *Spaniard* and join with them. Few words more were made of it, the Council accepted of his profer, and promis'd great things enough for the Nation, and the Secretary was order'd immediately to make out a Commission for *Andreas*. It was made on Parchment with the Collonies Seal and a fine Ribband affixt to it, the tenor whereof run thus. Captain *Andreas* having desir'd Protection from the Collony for himself and the other *Indians* under him, the Council does hereby take him and them into their Protection, and appoints the foresaid *Andreas* to be one of their *Scots* Collonies Captains, to command all the *Indians* that's already in his Ground, and to fight against and destroy the Enemies of the Collony of what Nation soever. This Commission was wrote in *English* and read to him by the *Jew* in *Spanish*; and for the more solemnity of the thing, the Coucil gave him one of the Long-Boats Jacks to wear in his *Canou*, a Fuzee, and a pair of Pistols, and a Basket-hilted Sword, and fir'd 21 Guns at his Inauguration. In the Evening Captain *Andreas* went ashore with his Flag flying and the other ensigns of his Honour, except the Commission, which I found the day following cram'd into a Locker of the Round-house where empty Bottles lay. What the meaning of leaving his Commission behind him was I could not apprehend

hend, but the next time he came aboard it was given him.

The Collony's Affair continu'd thus till *Chriſtmaſs*, during which time the Neighbouring *Indian* Captains came to viſit us, to wit, Captain *Poſſigo*, young *Diego*, another *Pedro Antonio*, and *Nicola*, who generally uſed to rail at one another behind their Backs, but all agreed that *Andreas* was not to be truſted notwithſtanding his new Commiſſion. *Ambroſio* was with us during the *Chriſtmaſs* Holy-days, and having met with Captain *Andreas* on Board the St. *Andrew* (whom he always look'd on as his mortal Enemy) reproach'd him with his Villany, by telling him, that he was ſtill a *Spaniard* altho' he took the Collony's Commiſſion: This occaſion'd ſome blows between them, and both Parties were going to fall on, if they had not been parted by our Seamen. They were kept aſunder till the Evening, and then Mr. *Pennycook* perſuading *Ambroſio* to be reconcil'd to him (or at leaſt, to appear ſo) a Bowl was made and the Friendſhip made up, they ſeem'd then to be good Friends all that Night, till about the time that they were to go to ſleep, poor Captain *Andreas* either fell or was tumbl'd down the main Hatch-way into the Hold, where lighting on a ſpare Anchor that lay there, he was ſo bruiz'd that he gave up the ghoſt ſoon afterwards. No body could tell how this accident happen'd, only two things were remarkable in it: That the Hatches of the Hold were always lock'd down at Nights by reaſon the ſharpneſs of our Diet made ſome Men watch all opportunities of getting into the Hold where the Oatmeal and Beef lay, but they were fairly open this Night. The other is, that there was no care taken while he was aboard to bleed him, or give him any thing inwardly to keep the Blood fluid and from ſettling on the bruiz'd parts, but laid him up till next Day his Wife and Relations carrry'd him a-ſhore double.

Captain

Captain or King *Andreas* having made his *Exit* thus, his Brother-in-Law Captain *Pedro*, with the intereſt or advice of the Senate, was Seated on his Throne, and he prov'd ſo friendly to the Collony that about 12 days after his Advancement a Party of *Spaniards* to the number of 26, being ſent to view the *Scots*, came ſtreight to Captain *Pedro*'s or *Andreas* his Government, deſiring ſome of his Men to Pilot them to ſome convenient place where they might view the *Scots* Fortification and Ships, theſe *Indians* ingaged it, but adviſed them to lie cloſs for a day or two, untill they view'd whether or no the Coaſt was clear and no *Scots* Parties abroad; So having poſted them on the ſide of a ſmall River, left them and inform'd the Collony of what they had done: On which Captain *Montgomery* Detach'd a Party of a 100 Men, and went round in their Boats, carrying theſe *Indians* along with them: as they were rowing up this narrow River, the Indians of a ſudden gave the Hollow, that the *Scots* might know they were upon them, but before they could ſee any body by reaſon of the thickneſs of the Woods, the *Spaniards* pour'd in a Volley of ſmall Shot amongſt them, kill'd one Enſign *Suinton*, with two more, and wounded 14, and then run as

fast as they could, our Men Landed and persu'd them, but caught none of them, save this *Domingo de la Rada*, and two more Common Soldiers, of whom the Proprietors of the *Flying-Post* have made such a noise these five or six Months past.

This is the ground of the Companies title to the Isthmus of *Darien*, and that was the Bloody Fight wherein so many hundreds of *Spaniards* were kill'd and taken Prisoners. Our Men being reduc'd to the foremention'd short Allowance, and wrought every day from Sun to Sun in felling of Trees, and Fortifying themselves, and seeing but little appearance of the Riches they were told of, began to be very faint-hearted. Several deserted from the Shore, and some of our best Men from the Ships, no body knew whether; and eight or nine of those who were caught and brought back again confess'd that they were going in to the *Spaniards*, where they might expect more Victuals and less Slavery than what they had there.

Notwithstanding these general murmurings, the Council could not augment the Allowance, without runing the hazard of starving a Month or two sooner, for there's no kind of Food to be had in that Mountainous & Woody Country, save Plantains, Bonnano's Po-

Potato's and Indian Corn, which are so scarce by reason of the few Natives, that our Men sold their New Shirts to the Indians for 20 or 24 Plantains a piece, which would not serve a Man above three or four days, and our Council were oblig'd to give strict Orders that no Man should sell his Cloaths, else I verily believe our Men had been naked in two months after our Landing. They were oblig'd to a certain Animal call'd a Sojour, which is a small Land Crab, that is hous'd in a shell like that of a Wilk; These Sojours were very plentiful at our first Landing, but they soon fail'd; and then our Men eat the inner rind of the bark of great Tree, which was not unpleasant to the taste, but it being of no nourishment, and thought to be unwholesome, they were discharged to eat of it. I doubt not but there's plenty of Fish on that Coast, but our Company furnishing us only with a small Net made of Packthread for each Ship, they could catch no more in a day than what serv'd the Counsellors and Sea Captains; and these Nets soon fail'd too. We made a shift to make a couple of Turtle Nets out of the store of Lines or small Cord we had aboard, but then we had not a Vessel that was fit to go a Turtling, till after some

time, two of the *Jamaico* Sloops who had brought and sold their Cargo of Provisions to the Collony were hir'd by them to Turtle for them: These Sloops staid about a month in their Service, till they had got so many Turtle for them as by contract came to a 100 and odd Pounds, and finding that there was neither Money nor Money's worth to be had in the Collony, they broke off with them, and with much a do could get so much Money as to satisfie them for their Service. They had some dependance on the wreck of a French Ship which was cast away coming out of the Harbour the day before *Christmas*, she having near 40000 *l.* in Doubloons and Dollars on board, which she had got by trading on the Spanish Coast, but I am told by some persons who are come home since I came, that they could not recover any thing of it, by reason of the continual swell that beats on that shore. Here (in Parenthesi) I was Shipwrack'd, had my Servant drow'd, and lost the few Goods I had with Bag and Baggage, and if it had not been for the little Money which I saved I had not found the way home as yet: As for the Gold and Riches of that Country, I heard enough but saw little of it; I presume if there were such store, the *Spaniards* would not have left it so expos'd.

These

Theſe Kings or Captains who came down to us might bring perhaps half an Ounce or an Ounce at a time with them and ſell it for Powder and Shot, and at firſt for a ſpeckled Shirt, but there came ſo little of this Commodity amongſt us that it would be long time before a Man could load his Pocket with it, much leſs a Dutch built Ship. What Gold I purchas'd there it coſt me 3 *l.* 10 *s.* *per* ounce, and I believe I brought as much of it away with me to *England* as moſt of thoſe Counſellors who are come home ſince, notwithſtanding the noiſe which they made of it.

I left the Collony the 27*th* of *December*, at the ſame allowance as we were reduc'd to in *July*, when we left *Scotland*; only there was an allowance of *Madera* Wine after our Landing, to wit, an Engliſh Quart to a Meſs (being 5 Men) once a Week: Two Quarts to each Captain once a Week, of which theſe Gentlemen made only one want, and the Night they got their Allowance, they went as merry to Bed as if they had been in their Winter Quarters at *Ghent* or *Bruſſels*, altho they were oblig'd to drink fair Water for a Week afterwards: As for the Subalterns, when I came off, they were not allow'd one Spoonful.

Thus

Thus you ſee how a 1050 Men were ſent by the *Scotch* Company on a blind Project, of getting Riches for them with five or ſix months Allowance at moſt, no Credit, and a ridiculous Cargo, neglected by them, and expos'd to Famine Death and the Spaniſh Mines. How the Company will ſhake this miſcariage from off themſelves I cannot ſee: However, I will give you a ſample of what they will be ready to offer in their own vindication.

Firſt, Their being baulkt of their foreign Subſcriptions made them loſe Time and Money, whereby they could not ſend out ſuch a number of Men and quantity of Proviſions as the Project would have required. But who is to blame for this, why ſhould they truſt to another Man's Purſe till ſuch time they are ſure of it? Why did they prodigally throw away 50000 *l.* in *Holland* and *Hambrough* (purely to make a bluſter there) when they could have bought 3 Second-hand-Ships as fit for their Project, for the third of the Money? And ſince their deſign was to ſettle a Collony and Forts on the North and South Seas, why did not they apply themſelves rightly to it? That which might have been honeſtly ſav'd out of this 50000 *l.* might have carried over above 2000 Men with 12 months Pro-

Proviſions of every Specie at good allowance. I have made this appear in *Scotland* ſome time ago, and ſince to ſome of the greateſt Men in the Company.

The ſecond Reaſon they will be apt to offer is this, the Ships were Mann'd, the Sea-men and Land-men Liſted and on board, no Proviſions to be had in *Scotland*, while more were providing abroad, theſe aboard ſtill were expending; beſides, there was no Money in the Caſh-room, nor any more to be had from the Subſcribers, till once the Ships were ſail'd, many being ſo ſick of the Project, that they doubted whether they ſhould ever paſs the Baſs. If this ſhould be allow'd to paſs for Current it may reaſonably be ask'd whether five or ſix Months Proviſions ſhould have laſted to this time. If ever they expected to hear any more of their Ships, ought they not to have call'd in more Money on our departure, and provided Proviſions inſtantly, and had Ships with us by *Chriſtmas*, or *January* at fartheſt; whereas none ſail'd from *Leith* till *May*, which was near two Months after they receiv'd the Collonies Packet. If they pretended to be ignorant of our neceſſity before this Packet came, they had no excuſe afterwards, they knew our want, as likewiſe that they had not ſent a Groats-worth of

Credit

Credit with us to any part of the World, altho now when its too late, they have made a fashion of doing it in *New-England*.

The third Reason they will make great use of is this, that at the setling of *Barbadoes*, and several other *West-india* Islands, as likewise the *American* settlements on the Main, the People met with a great many hardships, and the like are to be expected at the beginning of all such Settlements. To this I answer, that at such Settlements the Undertakers and Planters know what they are going about, and what to trust to, which is no ways parallel with the Case of the Company, for those being on an honest design had no more in their view than the Blessings of Heaven, and the Product of the Earth, and what they reap'd thereby was for their own use. On the other hand the Gentlemen who went in the *Scotch* Companies Service, were not born to Work, nor did they design it when they went from their Fathers Houses, and this the Company knew full as well as they.

A fourth reason they will offer is this, that they sent a Cargo with us, which might have purchas'd Provisions had it not been for the *English* prohibition. To this I answer, that the Company having sent

us

us on so dark an Errand, (where they must needs be assur'd, that not only *Spain*, but the other Trading Nations would be in our top) should not have trusted to that, unless they contriv'd it designedly to pick a quarrel with those Nations whose interest it was to refuse us Provisions or Necessaries to support our Collony. As for the Cargo it self, I refer my self to the particulars, and let any Merchant be Judge, whether it was fitted for sale, especially in the *West-Indies*. The 1500 Fuzzes were the best of the Cargo, but they could not be parted with; the Linnen was the next, but I have been assur'd by Merchants on *Port-royal*, that 500 *l.* worth of *Scotch* cloath makes the Commodity a drug there at any time. Besides, altho' we had not been sent on a dark design, yet we cou'd not expect to Trade with *Jamaico*; our Cloath and other Goods are seizable there, either in our Bottoms, or in their Sloops. If the *Jamaico* Men should truck Provisions with us, they cannot carry our goods home with them, neither can they expect to Trade with the *Spaniard*, on the account of our Settlement. I know very well that the first Sloop which brought Provisions to us, sold them at what rate they pleas'd, and had our *Scotch* Cloath in truck at the prime cost, yet they durst

not carry it to *Jamaico*, nor venture to Trade with the *Spaniard*, but were oblig'd to leave it behind with Captain *Alliſon*, the old Buccaneer, to whom the Sloop was conſign'd. But ſtill this reaſon of the prohibition will not hold Water, for if there had been Money or market Goods in the Collony. The *Engliſh* prohibition could not have kept Proviſions from us. The *French* and *Dutch* Iſlands were not confin'd by this Prohibition; and I dare ſay there are ſo many good Chriſtians at *Curraſſa*, that if *Reap.* and *B*'s ſtory of the Collonies bars of Silver had been true, they would ſoon have made Proviſions a drug in *Caledonia.*

Beſides, I can't think that the Prohibition had any influence on thoſe four Sloops who went from *Jamaico* to the Collony laden with Proviſions of all kinds, altho' two of them return'd without breaking bulk, I am rather apt to believe it was for want of thoſe Silver bars and gold duſt, which in the Autum ſhakes off the Trees there.

As to the prohibition it ſelf, whereon the Author of the defence ſtumbles ſo oft, and would gladly found the Baſis of his quarral. 'Tis believ'd that his Majeſty knew nothing of the Collonies Settlement at *Darien*, but what he had at ſecond hand from *R——th*'s Prints, till the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador

dor told him from his Maſter, that ſome of his Majeſty's *Scotch* Subjects had invaded the *Spaniſh* Dominions, in his Province of *Darien*, which he look'd upon to be contrary to the Treaty of Peace. If his Majeſty ſtopt the *Spaniards* mouth for the preſent, till he inquired into the matter, and forbid his *Engliſh* Subjects in the *Weſt-Indies* to have any Communication with theſe People in *Darien*, till ſuch time as the Title were concerted, he did no more than what was conſonant with the Conſtitutions and Eſtabliſhment of the *Engliſh* Iſlands, altho' there had been no *Spaniſh* Complaint. Neither could the King imagine that the Company ſhould ſend out their Ships on ſo Foreign an Expedition, ſo unprovided as to depend wholly on the *Engliſh* Plantations. And if the King forbid theſe to ſupply the *Scotch* Collony, he did not prohibit the *Scotch* Company, nor *Scotch* Nation to ſend them what Proviſions, or other neceſſaries they thought fit. If the *Scotch* Company took moſt care to ſend out Buccaneers Pieces, with great quantities of Powder and Shot, and truſted to what Men they could decoy from the *Engliſh* and *French* Iſlands, the deſign was neither fair, nor honeſt, and it may reaſonably be believ'd, that both theſe Nations would have taken meaſures

to bring them back again after they went. And if his Majesty takes care that his Plantations in the *West-Indies* shall not be reduc'd to Forrests, he can't be blam'd, considering the vast Riches they send home to *England* yearly, and the Customs which come into his Coffers, when on the other hand, all that the *Scotch* Company can make by such depopulations, will not put one Peny in his Pocket these seventeen years at soonest, worth the product of seventeen Hogsheads of Tobaccco.

Laying aside the *Spanish* Complaint and admit the *Scotch* Company to have a legal Title to their Settlement, was it not reasonable that the Government of *England*, having met with the clandestine Declararations, which the *Scotch* Collony had spread all over the *West-Indies*, inviting them over to *Darien*, &c. Should take suitable measures to prevent the ill consequences of the same, and retain their own Subjects. The Declarations are notorious, and must be penn'd by some Body belonging to the Company or Collony, and I presume the opposite Proclamation or Prohibition was penn'd by some *Englishman*, who had some Interest in the *English* Plantations. 'Tis very well know that when Captain *Pinkarton* met with the misfortue of being ob-

lig'd

lig'd to run his Veſſel aſhore under the Guns of *Carthagena*, his Chief Errand was to *Barbadoes*, and there to make uſe of the 48 hours (that's allow'd to foreigners to Wood and Water) in doing buſineſs for the Collony, and leaving Declarations to be ſpread over that Iſland; and ſo from thence to other *Engliſh* and *French* Iſlands, making uſe of the ſame Pretence of wanting Wood and Water. Theſe ſiniſter dealings are not ſuffered in the Collony of any Nation, and if the *Engliſh* and *French* Governments take care to prevent ſuch deſigns, I cannot ſee how they can be blaim'd: 'Tis very well known that thoſe Declarations were ſo kindly entertain'd all over the *Weſtindies*, that what with the Umbrary uſe that was made of King *William*'s name, and the hopes of *Spaniſh* Spoil, moſt Men who were not indu'd with Real or Perſonal Eſtate, were making ready to go over to *Darien*: Nay the unthinking ſort of People about the City of *London*, on the Coin'd Rhodomantado News, wherewith the non-authoriz'd Prints were daily ſtuft, were pleas'd and big with the Project, looking no farther into it than *Jacks Gold*, which they natively believe every body has a right to; when at the ſame time

the

the knowing Part of the World is ſenſible that *Jack* is the common Drudge of *Europe*, and if the Mines of *Peru* and *Mexico* were in any other bodies hands, we ſhould not get ſuch a good account of either of theſe Metals.

By what has been already ſaid, it may eaſily appear whether or no theſe Gentlemen have ſtaid long enough in *Darien*, and whether the Directors of the Company, or they deſerve moſt to be there at this Minuet. As for my part I got my Belly full of the Project, and am now glad to ſee my ſelf alive here, altho I left my Eldeſt Son (of the firſt Marriage) behind me in *Calidonia*.

Being afflicted with a *Mallady imaginaire* for ſome Months before I came off: I purchas'd my Liberty of the Collony with difficulty enough: About the ſame time the Counſel having reſolv'd to ſend home one of their Tenders with a Packet to the Company, and a ſample of the ſtrange Woods that grow in the Collonies Garden, I thought to have got my Paſſage in her, but was diſappointed by a State Reaſon, which was thus, Major *Cunningham* was the chief Inſtrument in contriving and forwarding the Expreſs, and having brought his marks to bear,

ſo

ſo far as that the Veſſel was Carreen'd, Tallow'd and fitted for the Voyage, he was ſuddenly afflicted with my Diſtemper, and it ſeiz'd him ſo violently that on the ſecond day of his illneſs he call'd a Council (being Preſes for the week) and ſatisfied them that he muſt leave them and go home to his native Country, for the recovery of his Health. *Pannycook* and *Macay* ſmelling a rat, us'd both fair and foul means to detain him, but all would not do. Mean while they contriv'd ways to detain the Veſſel till the Majors Preſeſhip was out, and the week following, it was Reſolv'd in Council *Nemine Contradicente* (except the Major) to take ſome other way of ſending home the Packet, and to convert the Tender into a Fireſhip: The Majors Tallent not lying in Sea Engagements, he could not offer much againſt the neceſſity of it. About the ſame time the *French* Ship mention'd before, happen'd to put into our Harbour, as likewiſe a *Hollands* Ship, that was trading on the *Spaniſh* Coaſt, and came hither for Sanctuary, the *Barlevanto* Fleet being on the *Carthegena* Coaſt: The *French* Ship was bound home to St. *Malo*'s, and I deſign'd to take my Paſſage in her, but the Major being

being poſſeſt with ſome frightful Stories of the *French* Captain's making an Oblation of him to the Governour of *Carthagena*, would not venture in her. The Ship was caſt away going out of the Harbour in fair weather, for want of Wind, and 24 of her Men drowned: I eſcaped narrowly in Mr. *Pennycook*'s Boat, while he was forc'd to ſwim for his Life. A *Jamaico* Sloop having brought ſome Proviſions to the Collony about the ſame time, and being bound home, the Mayor and I took our Paſſage in her.

We left the Collony the 27*th*. of *December*, arriv'd in *Jamaico* a fortnight afterward, and in *Briſtol* the 18*th* of *March* laſt, where the Major and I parted, he going for *Scotland* and I for *London*: At our parting he would oblidge me to write nothing to *Scotland* in prejudice of the *Darien* Project, and I promiſed him that he ſhould have ſuch liberty in telling his own Story there, that for the ſpace of two Months I ſhould not write concerning it, Directly or Indirectly, which promiſe I kept Religiouſly, although as it has happen'd my ſilence has not been of much ſervice to the Company.

I was no ſooner arriv'd in *London*, than at the requeſt of ſome *Scots*, Perſons of Great

Great Quality, I freely gave them a true account of affairs, and my Opinion of the Project: They had Journals at the same time from the Council of the Collony, but owned that they were better satisfi'd with my Account than the Journals which were design'dly dark in some Essential Points. My relation of *Darien* and *Caledonia*, in *England*, differing from that in *Scotland*, it was thought necessary for the repose of the Subscribers to stifle my Credit: Nay, one of these great Persons told me afterwards that he had receiv'd Letters from some Earls in *Scotland*, to diswade him from giving Credit to my relation, it being the pure effects of Prejudice, and that the Collony wanted for nothing. Two thirds of the *Scots* Nation here in Town were on my Top, and abus'd me to my Back, like any Beggar. This and some other harsh usage, which I receiv'd at the *Scotch* Companies hands, oblig'd me to take this way of righting my self: I have no other aim by it, then that their Actions may be laid bare-fac'd before the *Scotch* World, that some persons of that Nation may be unblinded, and see how far they have been led into a mistake.

As for the *Spanish* and *Scotch* Companies titles to the Isthumes of *Darien* (on which

the Author has foul'd six or seven Sheets of Paper, and said so little to the purpose) I think it is an unnecessary dispute at present, altho such a Re-inforcement sail'd the 24*th* of *September*. I shall only rehearse to you here, what I told Sir *J. S.* who was sent for in *May* last from *Scotland* to Court, on the Companies Affair: At his arrival in *London*, he sent a Kindsman of his to my Lodging to let me know that he wanted to speak with me; I waited on him the same Evening, and having entr'd on the Subject of *Darien*, he pull'd out of his Pocket a Copy of the Collonies Journal; we soon run over the immaterial Passages of it, and came to that which was like to be the Subject of Debate, to wit, the true Title to that Country. He argued in favour of the Company, in some Law Terms, wherein I pretend to no Judgment, farther than my Reason will fathom; and urg'd that by the Civil-Law no Title to any Country, can be vallid unless it be *de Facto* as well as *Jure*, and those he distinguish'd thus, all the *de jure* right which the *Spaniard* had to *Darien* was the Pope's Donation, which is never regarded amongst Protestant Prince; That the *Spaniard* had no possession *de facto* of that Country

try unleſs he liv'd on the Spot, or had his Cattle running there.

To the firſt I anſwer'd, that if the *Scots* had been in *Darien* as ſoon as the *Spaniards*, and taken poſſeſſion of it, the Companies Donation might have been as valid as the Pope's, but as theſe have been maſters of that Country by a proſcription of years, and their Title thereto never hitherto contraverted by any Prince or State till now by the Company. I could not ſee how at that rate any Collony or Plantation in the Univerſe can be ſafe. The *Spaniards* muſt either be confin'd within their wall'd Towns, and the reach of their Guns, or they muſt be allowed the uſual extent round them, as all other Collonies in *America* have. The Company might with the ſame Juſtice Land on the North-ſide of *Jamaico*, where, for 20 Leagues running there's neither *Engliſh* Man nor Beaſt to be ſeen, altho' there are as many, if not more, Wild Negroes in the Mountains of *Jamaico*, who have deſerted their Maſters than *Indians*, on thrice ſo much ground of the Iſthumes of *Darien*. By the ſame Title the Company might have ſeated themſelves on the Iſland of *Tobaga* (where there's never a

Man) without asking the Duke *Courland*'s leave. On the other hand, the Company has ſettled their Collony in the very Boſom and Centre of the three chief Cities of the *Spaniſh-Indies*, to wit, *Carthagena*, *Portobello*, and *Panama*, the firſt being about 45 Leagues, and the other two not above 30 diſtant from the Collony, beſides ſeveral ſmaller Towns and Garriſons which are much nearer, *viz*, *Sancta Maria*, *Tubaconti*, *&c.* Nay the *Spaniards* are at work in their Mines within 12 Leagues of Fort St. *Andrew*.

As for the *de facto* right, 'tis evident that theſe Captains who are over the Indian Clanns, have *Spaniſh* names to diſtinguiſh them from the Vulgar, ſpeak *Spaniſh* generally, their Wives go valed and cover'd after the ſame faſhion, the *Spaniſh* Women go, altho their Men go naked: Beſides, one Paragraph of the Collonies Journal makes this very Spot of Ground where they are ſettled, to be the Propriety of the *Spaniard*, by their acknowledging Captain *Andreas* to have been a Spaniſh Captain. As for the defences which *Batt. Sharp* adduced on his Tryal of the Indian Emperor (there having been no ſuch perſon on the Iſthumes of *Darien* theſe hundred years) and *King Golden Cap*, and the

the forg'd Commiſſion he produc'd from that Emperor, it was all trick: Neither was there much pains taken to hang him, or diſprove the Forgery. The Privateers indeed gave the title of King Golden Cap to the Indian Captains Son, who commanded theſe Indians near *Golden Iſland*, and he was this *Andreas* his firſt Couſin, but kill'd by the *Spaniards* after the Privateers left the Iſthums, as thoſe may now be who entertain the *Scots* ſo friendly. The *Iriſh* admitting ſome *French* Troops into their Country does not take away the King of *Englands* Title and Right to that Kingdom.

The *Spaniſh* Title is likewiſe confirmed by the Conceſſion of all Princes, and Treaties of Peace, whereby the *Spaniard* does not only cut off the People of all Nations whom he finds cutting Logwood in the Bay of *Campechy* (a great many Leagues diſtant from any *Spaniſh* Town) but keeps the *Barlevento* Fleet, and an *Armadilla* always ranging along that Coaſt, and makes prize of all Foreigners he finds trading on his Coaſt, without his Commiſſion; If they have ſo much as a ſtick of Logwood, or three pieces of Eight aboard: Which if he did not act Legally, to be ſure the Soveraign heads

of

of these Subjects, would long e're now have demanded satisfaction or made reprisal.

This was the Substance of what I offer'd to Sir *J. S.* and what use he made of it, I never inquir'd after, as for that part of the Champions defence describing the Isthumes of *Darien*, I must tell you that it is calculated in all the material passages of it for a *Scotch* Meridian, as the *Darien* News were for six Months by the Companies Agents here in Town, who knew that what was Printed here and sent to *Scotland* was far better believ'd than the *Apocrypha*. The *Edenbrugh* News-monger was never wanting on his part, for he still had something new from St. *Germains* to frighten us with the Cabals there, and prevate meetings between the late King *James* and *Lovis*, but however necessary such hob-goblin stories might be in an inchanted Country, yet they never went down within the sound of *Bow-bel*.

As for the Champions endeavouring to prove the *Scots* Intereſt by a separation, I will excuse my self from medling with part of the Subject, knowing at the same time that the Wisemen of that Country know the benefit of that Union bet-

better than this Author, or ſome more, who make uſe of the Machin of the Collony to ſet the two Nations together by the ears, the better to advance their own private Ends. As for his other fiery Ejaculations, I have no inclination to meddle with them, their being little to be got on either ſide, by ripping up of ſuch Sores; and it not belonging to me to ſay any thing on that Head, I'll take my leave of the Company and their Champion at preſent, and only ſay that if he is reſolved to ſeparate, I would have him pick ſome quarrel that's honeſter than this, and the next time he enters the Liſts, to advance juſter reaſons for it, than what he now does for *Caledonia Noviſſima*.

D
Scott
102

F I N I S.

D
Scott
102